

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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[PRICE THREEPENCE.]

THE COOLIES AT MAURITIUS.

To the Editors of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.

London, 22nd February, 1840.

GENTLEMEN.—Allow me to call your immediate attention to the papers which have been just printed in "return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 6th February, 1840," No. 58, relating to the Indian labourers who have been introduced into Mauritius.

This document is issued for the purpose of justifying the colonial minister, Lord John Russell, in his application to parliament to sanction an appeal to the Queen in council to relax the restrictions which were placed, a short time ago, on the export of Hill Coolies from Hindostan to any of the British emancipated colonies. It was distinctly understood at the time the restrictions were sanctioned, that they were to continue in force at least for a period of three years; the determination of the noble lord, therefore, has come upon the British public by surprise, and has created a degree of astonishment and indignation of which, probably, his lordship is not aware.

The noble lord intends to favour Mauritius in the first instance; British Guiana and Trinidad will, of course, in turn, enjoy the same advantage, and thus "the Gladstone slave-trade" will be revived, and British philanthropists be again compelled to remonstrate and petition against the monstrous iniquity.

The history of Mauritius is one of the blackest and foulest in the colonial annals of this country. For many years the planters of that colony prosecuted to an immense extent the slave-trade, either with the connivance, or in defiance of the authority of the executive; and when the system of slavery was abolished by the British legislature, they had the audacity to put in their claim for compensation for upwards of 30,000 slaves who had been feloniously introduced by them into the island, and were paid the full amount of their demand without observation or remonstrance on the part of the government at home. These Mauritian planters have been, during the whole of their connexion with this country, entirely opposed to British laws and to British rule, and have managed by intrigue or by violence to get rid of almost every upright and honest functionary, and to secure to themselves and their creatures almost every office of importance and trust; and yet these men are to be favoured with an unlimited supply of labourers from Hindostan, and the noble lord supposes that he will be able to secure the wretched creatures who may become their prey from fraud and from oppression!

General Sir William Nicolay, who has been superseded in the government of Mauritius by the appointment of Sir Lionel Smith, was only the nominal head of the executive there: M. D'Epinay was the real governor, and, under the management of this man in the colony, and of Messrs. Irving and Barclay in this country, the affairs of the island have been managed after the most approved colonial fashion. Whether Sir Lionel Smith will be able to realize the expectations of the friends of justice and liberty in the administration of its affairs when he arrives at Port Louis, will mainly depend upon the fact whether he is to have a procureur general, a colonial secretary, and other important officers of his own noble principles about him, and whether the home government will thoroughly support him in the discharge of the high office to which he has been appointed.

It is difficult to ascertain from the papers before me when the first shipment of Coolies to Mauritius took place, or the exact number of them which has been at various periods introduced. It appears that from the 1st August, 1834, to the 24th October, 1838, there were received from Calcutta 13,243 coolies, viz., 12,994 men; 198 women; and 51 children. From the 1st June, 1837, to the 22nd June, 1838, there were shipped from Cochin 308 Coolies, supposed to be all males. From the 1st June, 1837, to 24th June, 1838, there were shipped from Pondicherry 5058 coolies, supposed to be all males. From the 1st June, 1837, to the 25th August, 1838, there were shipped from Rajahmundry 441 Coolies, viz., 434 men and 7 women; making a total of 19,050—viz., 18,794 men, 205 women, and 51 children. But it is quite clear from the petition addressed to her Majesty by the planters and others, dated 18th May, 1839, that a much larger number of Coolies had been introduced. The 100 persons who signed that document state, that within the "last four years" they had "caused to be brought from British India upwards of 20,000 native Indian labourers." It is stated by some parties that the whole number introduced cannot be much short of 30,000!

Now the first thing we want to know, is, what has been the mortality among these miserable beings during their voyage

from Hindostan to Mauritius, and subsequently to their arrival there. On both these important points, the papers before me are deficient in information. From the crowded state, however, of most of the vessels in which they were shipped, and the want of proper medical attendance, I have little doubt that large numbers perished between shipment and arrival. I find that the larger proportion of the ships employed in the Coolie slave-trade carried from 200 to upwards of 500 human beings each! On board two of these vessels we have an account of several suicides which took place. On board the "Lancier" there appear to have been five, "malgré toutes les surveillances possibles!" as the officers on board testify. On board the "Indian Oak" twelve appear to have made the attempt at various times, three only of whom perished—the other nine were saved. "June 3rd, 3 P.M., ten men jumped overboard; nine were brought back by the boats, the other missing." "June 7th, 3 P.M., a man was observed overboard swimming from the ship;" Left to his fate, the captain not liking to risk the lives of the boat's crew in endeavouring to save him. "June 9th, one of the Coolies, named Dullat, reported to have fallen overboard during the night." One cannot fail to perceive in these incidents the true character of the Coolie slave-trade, for we find that, notwithstanding the "eight guards" on board the *Lancier*, and the unceasing vigilance which they and the officers on board exercised, five of the Coolies, rendered desperate by their situation, destroyed themselves. With respect to the mortality which has occurred since the arrival of the Indians at Mauritius, the statements are various. It is, however, admitted by the governor to have been great, and to have been "the source of deep regret" to him. In a despatch, dated 31st Dec., 1838, the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Dick) thus writes:—"The mortality which has prevailed among the Indian labourers, *as well on their voyage as after their arrival here*, and more particularly on some estates and establishments, has been the source of deep regret to his excellency. Mr. Anderson, as will be seen in one of his letters appended to this communication, states the mortality of the Coolies in Port Louis" to amount to eight or nine per cent., per annum! This would be equal to the destruction of the whole number of Coolies introduced every twelve years!!

One other point deserves to be specially noticed. Out of the 19,050 Coolies introduced, of which we have any account in the papers before me, only 205 were women! It is easy to conceive, that, from this frightful disparity of the sexes, the most horrible and revolting depravity and demoralization must necessarily ensue; and that such large masses of ignorant and degraded beings must carry with them a most corrupting influence on others. I must confess that I cannot contemplate this fact without a shudder; and the most painful conviction is forced on my mind that, however immoral the negro in Mauritius was, he has been rendered more so by his contact with the Coolies.

As to the mode in which the Coolies were obtained, it is universally admitted that multitudes of them were kidnapped, and by force or fraud brought under contracts to labour in Mauritius. The "Duffadars and Crimbs" have reaped a rich harvest, "notwithstanding the zealous and praiseworthy vigilance which appears to have been exercised by the officer charged with the superintendence of this branch of police duty in Calcutta, and with the execution of the ordinances passed by the supreme government, on this subject." In a despatch forwarded to Lord Glenelg, dated 21st May, 1839, Sir W. Nicolay thus writes:—"That very nefarious practices have been resorted to in many instances, in order to procure labourers for embarkation for this island, is beyond all doubt." And Mr. Anderson states, that "many of them have actually been kidnapped from their own country, which they have ALL been induced to leave under circumstances of gross fraud." Will the government have the firmness and the honesty to cause a rigid and impartial inquiry to be instituted into these frauds, and give the unhappy Coolies the advantage secured to them by the order in council of the 7th September, 1838, which annuls all contracts for labour where the parties have been "induced to enter into the same by any fraud, misapprehension, misrepresentation, or concealment?" This point must be urged on the government by the united voice of the people of this country. The contracts into which the Coolies have been induced to enter are generally for five years, and the wages paid them from 3 to 5 rupees per month, and in addition 1½ lbs. of rice, 4 oz. dal, 2 to 3 oz. salt fish, 1 oz. ghee, ½ oz. salt per diem. In some cases I perceive the allowance is rather more, and in others less. From the wages are usually deducted a rupee monthly to repay the amount expended on the voyage of the Coolies from India to Mauritius, and another rupee to repay the advances made to them previously

to departure, which usually amounts to six months pay. In addition to these deductions, a proportionate sum is withheld for absent and sick days; and sometimes a rupee per month is retained by the employers for reconveying them back to India in case of misconduct, or, I suppose, at the termination of their period of servitude. The clothing allowed them is utterly insufficient, being scanty in quantity and coarse in quality, viz.: "8 yards of common cloth or linen, and 2 handkerchiefs, or 2 dhootees, 1 jacket and 1 red cap per annum." The usual time of labour, is from sun-rise to sun-set with two hours relaxation for meals, except during the season of crop, which lasts six months in the year when they are required to work as many hours as may be necessary. Now I have no hesitation in stating from my experience in British Guiana, that persons held under such contracts as these are slaves; and that such wages and allowances are utterly inadequate to sustain them in health for the performance of the heavy duties required of them in sugar cultivation.

In addition to the correspondence of General Sir William Nicolay with the home government and with the authorities in India, on the immigration of Coolies into Mauritius, the papers contain the results of an investigation into their condition by four commissioners appointed for that purpose. It appears these gentlemen examined thirty-one establishments in Port Louis, on which they found 1346 Coolies; and twenty-two estates in the second section of the Flacq district, on which they found 1138 men, and 19 women. In the examination of some of the establishments in Port Louis they were assisted by Mr. Special Justice Anderson, who refused to sign the report of the commissioners, for reasons which he assigns in his letters, and to which particular attention is directed. In entering upon their duties in the Flacq district, the commissioners met with some opposition from the planters, and as will be seen, the governor without assigning any particular reason suddenly terminated their inquiries. But this need not be lamented, as the commissioners demonstrated that they were either incapable or unwilling, or both, to perform the duties confided to them.

I am, &c.
JOHN SCOBLE.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

(From a Parliamentary Paper just published.)

Sir, Colonial Secretary's Office, 15th October, 1838.

1. In pursuance of the suggestions of his Honor the President in Council at Fort William, that "the governors of the colonies to which Indian labourers have been extensively carried should be requested to appoint committees, including one or more Indian civil or military servants, or other persons who may be able to communicate personally with the labourers, and to ascertain whether they are contented with their lot, and satisfied with the manner in which the contracts with them have in general been fulfilled by the parties to whom consigned, and for whom their services were engaged," I have his excellency the governor's directions to acquaint you, that he has been pleased to select you for this duty, in which you will be assisted by the special magistrate of each section of the different districts of the island.

2. His excellency has further requested the only servants of the East India Company known to be now here, viz. Captain Forbes and Mr. T. Hugon, to associate themselves with you and the special justices, and to form a committee for this purpose.

3. The object of this inquiry being to obtain such accurate information with respect to the treatment of the Indian labourers in this colony as may tend to satisfy the government and the public of India as to their real state and condition here, it will be requisite that you should, in conjunction with the other members of the committee, visit the several establishments and estates in the town of Port Louis, and in the country districts, on which Indian labourers are employed; and that you should, by personal communication with the Indians, endeavour to ascertain their real sentiments and feelings on the following points:—

Whether they are satisfied with the manner in which their employers, or those acting under the orders of their employers, have fulfilled the engagements entered into with the Indians.

Whether they are satisfied as to the quantity, quality, and description of the food provided for them by their employers; the regular payment of the stipulated amount of their wages; the hours of labour; and, generally, with their mode of treatment.

You will also ascertain from their masters, what arrangements have been made by them for the faithful execution of that part of the engagement under which the Indians are entitled to a free passage back to their own country upon the expiration of their contract, or from inability to work through sickness, accident, or other cause.

4. On these and many other points which may suggest themselves to the committee, as tending to establish the real state and condition of the Indian labourers in this colony, it is desirable that the most accurate information should be obtained; and to assist the committee in that respect, I have the honour to enclose a copy of the injunctions laid upon all persons who obtain permission from this government to introduce Indian labourers, and of the rules established in Bengal for the grant of permits there.

5. It will be your duty to explain to the Indians the rights and privileges which they possess as free subjects in this colony, and the course they have to pursue to obtain redress if aggrieved. And it being desirable that the employers should be present when this is done, you will be pleased to make a communication to them to that effect previously to entering into the explanation with the Indians.

6. It is further advisable, that you should take every opportunity which may occur in the course of this duty, to impress upon the Indians the expediency of depositing their money in the savings' bank, as there is but too much reason to apprehend, that in several instances crimes have been committed from a knowledge among their comrades of their carrying their money about their persons, as is the practice in India. I have, &c.

(Signed) G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Special Justice Campbell.

Port Louis, 13th November, 1838.

Sir,—We have the honour to forward, for submission to his excellency the governor, our proceedings up to the 7th instant, which complete our investigation of thirty-one establishments in Port Louis.

1. We beg to state that the committee thought it unnecessary to visit those places where a less number than ten Indians were employed, as such could only be considered in the light of domestic servants.

2. The abstract of the proceedings will show where some interference may be necessary, with regard to the accommodation, medical treatment, and time allowed to the Indians for their meals.

3. Any further remarks at the present stage of our inquiry would be premature; we cannot, however, but express the hope, that in the plantations we may meet with as few exceptions to the general good treatment of the Indian labourers as have hitherto come under the observation of the committee. We have, &c.

(Signed)

C. M. CAMPBELL.
T. HUGON.
G. VILLIERS FORBES.
W. BURY.

The Honourable G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

[Note.—The abstracts of evidence which accompany this letter are extremely meagre, and altogether insufficient to afford the means of a correct judgment on the actual condition of the Coolies. When their complaints are noticed we find them to be—"interference with their prejudices regarding cooking," a point of material importance in the estimation of Hindoos;—"insufficiency of time allowed for meals"—"dissatisfaction with their work"—"insufficient accommodations,"—"dissatisfaction as to their food"—"want of proper medical attendance"—"mal-treatment by beating, &c., and non-receipt of money due to them, &c. &c. In transmitting the minutes of evidence home, the governor states, "with respect to some of them at Port Louis, there was a considerable difference of opinion between Special Justice Anderson and the other members, as to the treatment which the labourers had received from their employers, and which does certainly not appear to have been sufficiently noticed." This speaks volumes as to the worthlessness of the reports transmitted to him. (Vide Despatch, dated 21st May 1838.) In calling the attention of the commissioners to this difference of opinion, in a letter addressed to them the 31st December 1838, the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Dick) says, "The Governor trusts that in your future proceedings, you will perceive the necessity of fully entering into such inquiries, and of eliciting all the facts in similar cases, in order to leave no doubt or question with regard to them." This, however, was not done as the abstract of their proceedings in the Flacq district fully proves.]

Colonial Secretary's Office, 17th Nov., 1838.

Gentlemen,—His excellency the governor directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., giving cover to the evidence taken by you with regard to the Indians employed in Port Louis, in the different establishments therein named; and as he does not perceive the signature of Mr. Special Justice Anderson, either to the letter or the abstract of evidence, his excellency wishes to know whether it was withheld designedly, and, if so, on what account. I have, &c.

(Signed) G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.
To the Committee of Inquiry on the Indian Labourers.

Office of the Committee on Indian Labourers, Port Louis, Nov. 19, 1838.

Sir,—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., and beg to state that Mr. special justice Anderson declined signing our letter of the 13th inst., because it did not touch upon certain general points on which his opinions were fixed, whereas we considered, at this early stage of our proceeding, that the expression of any such opinions would have been premature.

Mr. Anderson having signed the proceedings, his objections to signing the abstract and letter he will fully detail in his reply to the duplicate of the letter now under acknowledgment. We have, &c.

(Signed) C. M. CAMPBELL.
J. VILLIERS FORBES.
J. HUGON.
W. BURY.

The Honourable the Colonial Secretary.

Special Magistrate's Office, Port Louis, 19th November, 1838.

Sir,—The governor having been pleased, through your letter of the 17th inst., to communicate to "the Committee of Inquiry on Indian Labourers," that his excellency had remarked the absence of my signature to the letter and the abstract of evidence with regard to the Indians employed in Port Louis, which were addressed to you by the committee on the 13th inst., and to express a desire to be informed if my signature was designedly withheld, and, if so, on what account, I have the honour to state, for his excellency's information, that my signature was intentionally withheld for the reasons which I now beg leave to submit.

As the means of facilitating reference to such a mass of papers, I fully approved of the principle on which the abstract of evidence was adopted. It was drawn up, however, in a manner which not only did not express the opinions which I had formed on the evidence which had been received by the committee, but which appeared to me to be at variance with that evidence, and calculated to mislead any person who might have recourse to the abstract for the purpose of forming a judgment on the question at issue; under these impressions I could not feel justified in signing such a document.

To the 4th paragraph of the letter of the 13th I could not subscribe, because I had avowed my decided opposition to the opinions which it expresses, instead of considering that "further remarks would have been premature," on an inquiry which was completed with respect to Port Louis. I communicated to the committee my anxious desire that his excellency should immediately be made acquainted with the detailed opinion of its members on the general state and condition of the Indian labourers in the town, where, as one of the committee, I regret to say that I could discover nothing to warrant the conclusion which might be drawn from the expression with which the letter of the 13th inst. terminates, as I had seen much which in my opinion required immediate remedy, and merited marked reprobation.

During the discussions which took place in the committee, it did not

appear to me that my opinion differed materially from that of the majority of its members; but as their letter to you of the 13th induces me now to suppose that I must have been mistaken in this respect, his excellency will perhaps expect to receive from me the general conclusions at which I have arrived, from what I have personally heard and seen during the progress of the inquiry, and I shall now proceed to submit them in as few words as possible.

In a report on the state and condition of the Indian labourers in Port Louis, which, as a special magistrate, I was directed to make to his excellency in the month of January last, I stated my incompetence to fulfil that duty in a satisfactory manner with the means which were then within my reach, and my report was made from the best general information which I could procure.

The power of minute investigation, with the assistance of interpreters, which has been vested in the present committee, has afforded ample means of forming a correct judgment, and its result has convinced me that the Indian labourers employed in this town are generally fed, clothed, and paid with but little deviation from their agreements. With a few exceptions, however, they are treated with great and unjust severity, by over-work, and by personal chastisement; their lodging accommodation is either too confined and disgustingly filthy, or none is provided for them; and in cases of sickness, the most culpable neglect is evinced in withholding the accommodation, the advice, and the attendance which the utter helplessness of the sufferers so urgently requires. From the various periods at which different bands have arrived, even on the same establishment, it would require considerable time and labour to make a correct calculation of the proportion of deaths annually; but I am inclined to believe that they would be found to amount to eight or nine per cent. None of the establishments in Port Louis have sufficient hospital accommodation for their sick, and the expense of placing them in the public hospital will always be offered as an excuse by the employers for not having recourse to it; but I am convinced that it is there, and there only, that serious complaints can meet with the necessary care and attention.

In most of the establishments little or no importance is attached to indulging the prejudices and customs to which Indians are known to cling so tenaciously. Their deplorable state of destitution in their own country is always advanced as an argument in favour of their improved condition here, without any reference to the change which takes place by their emigration, from comparative idleness and indolence, with the full enjoyment of all their natural prejudices, to severe and unremitting labour under many painful restrictions.

Many of them have actually been kidnapped from their own country, which they have all been induced to leave under circumstances of gross fraud; and it is a source of astonishment to me that any body of freemen, whatever may have been their former condition, should have borne, with the patience and forbearance which the Indian labourers at Port Louis have displayed, the bitter disappointment which must have attended their introduction into this island.

To induce them to come here, their ignorance is worked upon in India by the most false and deceitful representations; and the robbery and pillage which has been practised on them in Calcutta would scarcely be credited, if the fact was not established by the most convincing testimony. They reach this colony after having been robbed of six months' pay, which is advanced in India; and when here their comfort is in every way neglected, while they are compelled, by the engagements to which their own ignorance and the avarice of others have bound them, to toil during five years for a recompence bearing no proportion to the work to which they are subjected, when compared with the common estimation of the value of labour in this colony, or to the sum which they would earn if they had the free disposal of their own time.

The harsh treatment which has been adopted or permitted by many of the employers cannot in any shape be justified in itself, and when added to the other objectionable parts of the present system, must show the necessity of applying a sure and speedy remedy, if free labour is to be placed on that footing which sound policy, justice, and common humanity would dictate. I have, &c.

(Signed)

C. ANDERSON,

Superintending Special Magistrate.

The Honourable the Colonial Secretary.

Colonial Secretary's Office, 29th November, 1838.

Sir,—I have laid before the governor your letter of the 19th instant; and, with reference to the following extracts from it, I am directed by his excellency to request that you will specify the circumstances which have led you to the conclusions there stated.

"With few exceptions, however, they are treated with great and unjust severity, by over-work and by personal chastisement; their lodging accommodation is either too confined, and disgustingly filthy, or none is provided for them; and in cases of sickness the most culpable neglect is evinced, in withholding the accommodation, the advice, and the attendance which the utter helplessness of the sufferers so urgently requires."

"In most of the establishments little or no importance is attached to indulging the prejudices and customs to which Indians are known to cling so tenaciously."

"The harsh treatment which has been adopted or permitted by many of the employers cannot in any shape be justified in itself, and when added to the other objectionable parts of the present system, must show the necessity of applying a sure and speedy remedy, if free labour is to be placed on that footing which sound policy, justice, and common humanity would dictate."

2. The governor wishes also that you would report what you have seen which you conceive requires immediate remedy and marked reprobation.

I have, &c.,

(Signed)

G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

To C. ANDERSON, Esq., Superintending Special Justice.

Special Magistrate's Office, Port Louis, 30th Nov., 1838.

Sir,—In compliance with the wishes of the governor, communicated to me by your letter of the 29th instant, I have now the honour to state the circumstances which now led to the conclusions on the state of Indian labourers submitted to his excellency in my letter to you of the 19th inst.; and for the sake of perspicuity, I will deal with the subjects of objection in the order in which that letter presents them.

Over-work.—At all the establishments where the employment is that of carters and porters, the work commences at sunrise, and, with the exception of a very limited interval for breakfast, is continued generally without other intermission until dark, and often for several hours by moonlight. I myself have frequently seen bands of Indians driving wood and rice at ten o'clock at night, and many of them complained to the committee that they had not sufficient time to eat their meals, and that their work was too severe.

The non-predial apprentices who are employed in similar occupations cannot be worked without their own consent during more than nine hours daily, while the Indian carters and porters are compelled to labour for fourteen or fifteen hours, and that without any sustenance after their breakfast until they retire for the night, however late the hour may be. The proprietors of establishments of this description assert that their work is uncertain, and requires great periodical exertion; but I cannot admit that excuse for the system which I have thought it necessary to condemn, and which must prove injurious to the health of men so little accustomed to severe bodily exertion as the Indians who come here are admitted to be.

Personal Chastisement.—The complaints of this nature to the committee, if my memory is correct, were chiefly confined to the establishments of Mr. F. Berger, Messrs. Tayler and Tyack, and Messrs. Giquet and Co.; but it is a matter of public notoriety, that the system is carried to a great extent at Messrs. Worthington and Co.'s, and elsewhere. This may be ascertained by a reference to the *juge de paix*. On the establishment of Mr. Worthington, the proprietor vehemently objected to its being communicated by the committee to the Indians how they were to apply for redress when they were beaten by their masters, although there was no objection to a similar communication for all other objects. The complaints against Mr. Berger and Messrs. Tyack and Co. were loud and strong, and in the establishment of the former, convincing marks of most severe stripes were exhibited to the committee by several individuals. Mr. Berger met this by threatening the complaints in the presence of the committee; and Mr. Tyack stated, that he left all the management of the Indians in his employment to his servants.

When it was communicated to Mr. Giquet by the committee that his Indians complained of being beaten by the person under whose immediate direction they were, he instantly discharged him.

Knowing, as three of the members of the committee did, what takes place in Mr. Worthington's establishment with reference to bodily correction, there was some surprise expressed that it had not been alluded to by the Indians. I confess that I attributed their silence to intimidation, and I proposed, with a view to avoid this in our subsequent proceedings, that our questions should be put to the Indians when free from that restraint which, in the case of apprentices, is always felt in the presence of their master. But this suggestion was overruled; and, in my opinion, the only means of producing in the written evidence the full extent of the information which the committee was employed to search for, was consequently abandoned.

Lodging Accommodation.—On this head, my observations will be of a very general nature, for I am compelled to state, that I only saw on two establishments (Mr. Wilson's and Messrs. Watson and Co.'s) any sleeping-place which I could consider fit for the purpose to which it is devoted.

I did not expect to see separate rooms allotted to each individual but I think they have a right to expect sufficient space and protection from the weather, accompanied by the free circulation of air, and that attention to cleanliness without which health cannot be preserved.

In no instance have the Indians in Port Louis, so far as I have seen, anything but the bare floor provided for them; and they are generally crowded together in places where respiration would be thought almost impossible in such a climate, particularly when surrounded by the filth which invariably attends them, with the exception of the two establishments which I have mentioned. At Mr. Berger's and Mr. Lesur's, the sleeping-places are over the stable of the mules, where there is an accumulated mass of filth of every description, from which the smell above was so offensive, that I could not remain in the sleeping-loft for five minutes without suffering most disagreeably, and the inconceivably dirty state of the lofts themselves added considerably to this sensation. Messrs. Tayler and Tyack declared that they had no sleeping-place for their Indians, who are therefore obliged to have recourse to a stable or a verandah during the night.

Accommodation of and Attendance on the Sick.—The hospitals on the establishments which I have seen, are generally more calculated to increase disease than to alleviate its sufferings; and I think some of them cannot be visited by an impartial observer without exacting from him the observation, that they are unfit for the reception of human beings.

From a place of this description, an Indian was brought before the committee by his comrades in such a state of attenuation as to have become a perfect skeleton; he could not stand without the assistance of three men, and, although he had been for weeks in this state, his companions declared that he had neither received medical advice, nor any kind of attention. It is true that the master denies this, and asserted that a medical man occasionally attended his establishment; but he had no journal to produce, or anything else to corroborate his statement. On another establishment, a man, evidently suffering under severe disease, presented himself to the committee to complain that he had been compelled to work for two months when he could hardly walk; and the employer admitted that he had neither an hospital or a medical attendant for his establishment, and that he had considered the man's illness as a mere pretence for idleness.

Prejudices and Customs of the Indians.—Much of the comfort and happiness of an Indian depends on the unrestrained pursuit of the prejudices in which he has been brought up, and the employer who attends to this feeling will benefit by his prudence, while he who neglects it will certainly suffer from complaint and discontent.

This was strongly manifested in an establishment where, in other respects, the Indians were very well treated; but, in consequence of a desire to give them food which differed from that provided by their agreement, and their cooking-place being the same as that used by the apprentices, they became very much discontented.

After what I have stated in this and in my previous letter, I cannot help again expressing my firm conviction that the state of the Indians requires some immediate regulations to protect them from over-work, to provide them with proper accommodation, and to secure to them that attention in

sickness, and to their general comfort, from which the employers and their servants would reap a mutual benefit, but which I believe to be neglected in a degree which I must continue to consider highly culpable.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. ANDERSON,
Superintending Special Magistrate.
The Honourable the Colonial Secretary.

The Committee of Inquiry on Indian Labourers.

Gentlemen, Colonial Secretary's Office, 1st December, 1838.
With reference to the communication made to you on the 17th ultimo, I have received his excellency the governor's directions to forward to you the explanations furnished by Mr. Special Justice Anderson for declining to sign the summary of evidence forwarded in your letter of the 13th ultimo, for any observations which you may find these explanations to require, where they are at variance with the evidence transmitted by you.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

The Honourable G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

Sir, Port Louis, 5th December, 1838.

1. We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, with its enclosures (two letters from Mr. Special Justice Anderson, under date the 19th and 30th ult., in explanation of his declining to sign the summary of evidence forwarded in our letter of the 13th ult.), requiring us to make any observations, where his explanations are at variance with the evidence transmitted by us, and signed by him and the other members of the committee. We accordingly beg to submit to his excellency the governor the following observations.

2. In the second paragraph of Mr. Anderson's letter, he remarks that "the abstract was drawn up in a manner which not only did not express the opinions which he had formed on the evidence which had been received by the committee, but appeared to him to be at variance with that evidence, and calculated to mislead," &c. We beg to remark, that the Abstract from the proceedings was drawn up with a view merely to facilitate reference to them, and not to express the opinions of the committee; it cannot be a matter of surprise, therefore, that Mr. Anderson did not find his opinions expressed therein, although he signed the proceedings *en masse* from which the abstract was made; a reference to the same will show whether "the abstract be at variance with the proceedings, and calculated to mislead," or not. We beg to state, that after a careful examination of both documents, we do not find any discrepancy, and are at a loss to conceive how Mr. Anderson could feel justified in signing the one document, and refusing to sign the other.

3. With respect to paragraph three, wherein he remarks that he had "seen much which, in his opinion, required immediate remedy, and merited marked reprobation," we will merely observe that, as he did visit with the committee only 12 out of 31 establishments (other duties requiring his presence elsewhere), his opinion cannot in any way be said to result from the whole of the evidence obtained by the committee, but from other sources of information.

4. With reference to that part of paragraph six wherein Mr. Anderson, from his personal inspection of 12 establishments only, arrives at such a sweeping conclusion as his remark conveys, "that, with few exceptions, the Indians are treated with great and unjust severity, by over-work, and personal chastisement," &c., we cannot refrain from observing, that the only establishments seen by him with the committee wherein the remarks in any way apply, were, Messrs. Berger's, Tayler and Tyacks, and Giquel and Co.'s, to which establishments our letter of the 13th November called the attention of government. We could not, therefore, without injustice to the other establishments, coincide in opinion with Mr. Anderson in his general view of the case.

5. It is remarked, in the seventh paragraph, that, in most of the establishments, "little or no importance is attached to indulging the prejudices and customs to which Indians are known to cling so tenaciously." We would beg to observe, that in one establishment alone, viz., Mr. Diore's, did the Indians make any complaint of the kind. We are at a loss to conceive how one solitary exception can justify such a general assertion.

6. We can neither deny nor admit the fact of "kidnapping, fraud, and deceitful representation," stated by Mr. Anderson, in the eighth and ninth paragraphs of his letter, to have been employed in bringing Indians to the Mauritius, as most of the questions put to them by the committee, had reference only to their treatment and feelings since their arrival; nothing, however, in the evidence received, could lead any unbiased mind to the same conclusion as Mr. Anderson has arrived at. Only one man at Messrs. Watson and Co.'s expressed himself in a way to support the statement made of "bitter disappointment" being general; the man was a massaljee, or torch-bearer, who had evidently misunderstood the purpose for which his services were engaged. We noticed in the proceedings, that the complaint of having been plundered of their six months' advances was made by the Bengal men only.

7. Although the pay of Indians is below the present rate of town wages, most of them expressed themselves as satisfied. We doubt the disproportion being so great as implied, when the expense of their introduction is taken into consideration; for we saw in one establishment (Mr. Des Etang's) 29 men from Bombay, originally introduced by Mr. Bickajee in 1831 and 1832, who have twice voluntarily entered into new contracts, at eight rupees a month in the first instance, and 10 rupees in the second. Eleven other men, introduced by Mr. Lafauche from Bengal, had formed new engagements with Mr. Des Etang, at the rate of 10 rupees per month.

8. We agree perfectly with Mr. Anderson, as to the unjustifiability of harsh treatment to Indians, but we are of opinion that he is not borne out by the evidence we received, in his assertion of its "being adopted or permitted by many of the employers."

9. We now proceed to make a few observations on Mr. Anderson's letter of the 30th ult., and will endeavour to point out where his remarks are not supported by the evidence taken by the committee; we will, as much as possible, follow the same order as therein observed.

10. Over-work.—There were only three establishments in which any complaints at all were made with regard to the duration of work, viz., Messrs. Berger's, Tayler and Tyack's, and Duclos. The readiness with which the men complained in that respect at Mr. Berger's, showed that they did not consider themselves bound to work after sunset, and that they

thoroughly understood that part of the agreement which fixes the hours of labour from sunrise to sunset, with an intermission of three hours for meals. From our knowledge of the character of the natives, we are confident that they could not be forced to work beyond the stipulated hours without due compensation, either in money or immunity from labour at other hours during the day; the assertion of their being "compelled to work for 14 or 15 hours," is at complete variance with the declaration of the Indians themselves, with the few exceptions recorded in the proceedings.

11. Personal Chastisement.—We have already recorded that some of the Indians on the three establishments alluded to by Mr. Anderson complained of personal chastisement; but it was only at Mr. Berger's (where general discontent existed) that two men showed marks of stripes on their thighs. An allusion is made to the establishment of Mr. Worthington, as one on which personal chastisement, carried to a great extent, had long been notorious. We can say nothing of the previous existence of such an abuse on that establishment, and can only infer its having been discontinued or repressed from the evidence we received. Complaints were made about the quantity of food, which showed that the men were not intimidated by the presence of their employers.

12. The instructions conveyed to the committee would have precluded the adoption of Mr. Anderson's suggestion of examining the Indians out of the presence of the employers, had not all the other members of the committee (from their practical knowledge of the natives of India) been convinced that such a course would have been not only invidious in itself, but totally unnecessary. There is no similitude in the position of the Indian and that of the apprentice; the latter cannot but feel restraint in the presence of the individual whose property he was but yesterday; that the former does not entertain the same feeling was amply illustrated by the complaints made in presence of the employers, trifling and frivolous in some establishments, but "loud and strong" in two, as noticed by Mr. Anderson himself. The mutual recriminations which took place between Mr. Berger and his men, ought to have been sufficient to have convinced an unbiased mind, that the presence of the employer did not place the Indian under any restraint in the expression of his feelings.

13. Lodging Accommodation.—With regard to the accommodation provided for the Indians, a reference to the proceedings will show that Mr. Anderson, in his remarks under that head, has generalized the exceptions; in very few establishments has the committee found a wilful neglect of the comforts of the Indians; in some they had so lately arrived, that there had not been time to make suitable arrangements. It would be unfair to tax the employers with the filthy habits of their servants. Had Mr. Anderson ever visited India, he would not have cited as a hardship their having to repose on the "bare floor," as it is consonant to their habits; even rich natives are accustomed to sleep on a mat spread on the mud floors in the verandas, or on the flat roofs of their houses.

14. Accommodation of and Attendance on the Sick.—We beg to differ in opinion with Mr. Anderson, in regard to the places set apart for the sick on the different establishments: with the few exceptions already specified, we found them sufficient for the purpose. We must confess that, in some of them, cleanliness was not strictly attended to. The excited feelings of dissatisfaction evinced by Mr. Berger's men from the beginning, induced them to bring out of the hospital, supported by two or three men, the sick man alluded to, evidently with the intent of aggravating their grounds of complaint against their employer, who assured the committee that his establishment was regularly attended by Dr. Salesse and a native doctor. Any doubt of the veracity of Mr. Berger could easily be cleared by a reference to Dr. Salesse. With regard to the other case at Messrs. Tayler and Tyack's, there certainly was carelessness, and it was recorded on the proceedings.

15. Prejudices and Customs.—It is unnecessary for us to make any further remarks, as we have already touched on this subject in paragraph five.

16. We will, in conclusion, refer to the proceedings themselves for further proof of the generalization of isolated facts which is shown in the two letters under reply; we have no hesitation in again asserting, that, from what the committee have seen in Port Louis, we could not do otherwise than report favourably on the general question, were we called upon to do so without further investigation and experience.

We have, &c.,
(Signed)

C. M. CAMPBELL.
J. VILLIERS FORBES.
J. HUGON.
W. BURY.

[Note.—It will be clearly seen, that the attempt of the commissioners to reply to the statements in Mr. Anderson's letter, is a most impotent affair. Their abstract of the evidence, they admit, was not intended "to express the opinions of the committee." The third paragraph in their letter is a mere quibble; they do not deny that in the twelve establishments visited by Mr. Anderson, in company with themselves, they had "seen much" that "required immediate remedy, and merited marked reprobation" but they say Mr. Anderson did not visit the whole of the establishments with them, and would, therefore, have us believe, that he was not entitled to form a judgment on those he had seen. The "other sources of information" open to Mr. Anderson, might have enabled him to form a much more accurate estimate of the condition of the Coolies than that of the gentlemen honoured with the commission. In reference to the "personal chastisement" inflicted on the Coolies, on certain establishments which they visited, the commissioners state, that they called the attention of the government to that point in their letter of the 13th November, 1838. Not one word is said upon the subject in that letter! On the subject of "kidnapping, fraud and deceitful representation," they profess not to have taken evidence, and therefore, "neither deny nor admit the fact." A careful review of the evidence taken, and the *animus* of this letter, prove that they limited their inquiries within the narrowest possible range, and were unfitted for the discharge of the duties imposed upon them. It must not be forgotten, that these gentlemen resisted the proposition of Mr. Anderson to examine the Coolies apart from the presence of their masters!]

Colonial Secretary's Office, 31st December, 1838.

Gentlemen.—1. I have had the honour to lay before the governor your letter of the 5th instant, in answer to the observations of Mr. Special Jus-

tice Anderson, in regard to the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the state and condition of the Indian labourers here with respect to those in Port Louis.

2. The manner in which Mr. Anderson's statement, that the prevalence of personal chastisement in the establishment of Messrs. Worthington and Co. was matter of public notoriety, and known to three members of the committee, has been noticed, is not, in his excellency's opinion, satisfactory; and he thinks that, with such information in their possession, the investigation of the committee into the existence of such an abuse should have been full and searching.

3. The third paragraph of your letter of the 13th of November did intimate that some interference might be necessary with regard to the accommodation, medical treatment, and time allowed for meals, but in terms not sufficiently strong to mark the necessity of such interference, as shown by Mr. Anderson's letter and your answer; and the governor trusts that, in your future proceedings, you will perceive the necessity of fully entering into such inquiries, and of eliciting all the facts in similar cases, in order to leave no doubt or question with regard to them.

4. His excellency is disposed to be satisfied in much of the explanation you have afforded in answer to Mr. Anderson's statements, and to consider that that gentleman may have generalised too much, and may have derived his information from other sources than the evidence given before the committee; but his excellency quite concurs with Mr. Anderson in thinking that the criterion of comfort and convenience for the Indians should be taken from those of their own class in this island, and not from what they may have been used to in their own country. I have, &c.

(Signed) G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

MESSRS. CAMPBELL, FORBES, BURY, and HUGON.

Colonial Secretary's Office, 31st Dec., 1838.

Gentlemen.—1. I have had the honour to lay before his excellency the governor, the report of your proceedings in the inquiry into the state and condition of the Indian labourers employed in the town of Port Louis; and I have received his excellency's directions to intimate to you his approval of the series of questions you have put to the Indians, as well as to the masters; but he thinks that the committee should not limit themselves to these questions, but extend them, as occasion may require, to others calculated to elucidate the real situation of these people in the different establishments in which they work, which his excellency is most desirous of having very fully ascertained.

2. For this purpose the governor requests that, in the prosecution of your inquiries in the country districts, you will be careful to note down in full detail the whole of the evidence which is calculated in any way to establish clearly and satisfactorily the condition and state of the Indians upon the different estates and establishments.

3. The lodging accommodation afforded to the Indian labourers by their respective employers being a point on which their health and comfort are essentially dependent, his excellency is desirous that the committee should particularly inquire into the manner in which they are lodged on the different habitations, and that your report thereon should be full and particular.

4. The mortality which has prevailed among the Indian labourers, as well on the voyage as after their arrival here, and more particularly upon some estates and establishments, has been the source of deep regret to his excellency, and renders it necessary that your inquiries should be most minute as to the medical aid and hospital treatment afforded to them by their respective employers. You will be pleased, therefore, carefully to register the name of the medical attendant of each estate, and the number of his periodical visits, as well as in describing the hospital accommodation provided for the sick. And you will, as far as may be in your power, take care to ascertain whether medical assistance to the sick is timely afforded; endeavouring to impress upon the master, that, in the medical treatment of Indians, much depends on that treatment being timely administered.

5. It should be an object of your inquiry also, to ascertain whether the Indian labourers are not employed on work of a severer description than that which they have, under their agreements, engaged to perform, and whether their hours of work are not prolonged beyond what may fairly and reasonably be expected by their employers under those engagements.

6. It will be desirable that you should note the conditions of the several agreements in a summary way, so that they may easily be compared with each other, and their various discrepancies stated, with a view to their being remedied by the adoption of some general system hereafter; and also the hours of work on each estate, in order to the introduction of some regulations to establish uniformity in that respect. Moreover, you should apprise the masters, as well as the men themselves, that, unless in cases of urgency or necessity, Sunday labour is not legal, whatever stipulation there may be in their agreements to the contrary.

7. Your inquiries should further be directed very particularly to ascertaining whether the Indians are subject to personal restraint, or other punishment or maltreatment, on the part either of their masters or of those employed under them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

The Committee of Inquiry on the Indian Labourers.

Colonial Secretary's Office, 28th February, 1839,

Sir.—Having laid before his excellency the governor your letter of the 18th instant, transmitting the protest of the principal inhabitants of the first section of the Flacq District against the manner in which the inquiry into the state and condition of the Indian labourers is conducted, I have been directed to express his excellency's regret at a proceeding on the part of the inhabitants so calculated to produce an unfavourable impression elsewhere, and to intimate to you that his excellency considers it advisable that the inquiries of the committee should cease as soon as they shall have completed the examination on those estates in the Flacq District where no opposition may be made by the proprietors.

I have, &c.,

(Signed)

To C. M. Campbell, Esq., president of the
Committee of Inquiry on Indians.

GEORGE F. DICK,
Colonial Secretary.

Flacq, 16th March, 1839.

Sir.—1. We have the honour to forward, for submission to his excellency the governor, our proceedings up to the 12th instant, comprising the inquiry we have made into the state and condition of the Indian labourers on twenty-two estates on this district.

2. We have found on every estate proper accommodation for the labourers, with an hospital proportionate to the number employed (with one exception, Mr. Fabre's estate.) There are four doctors in the district, who visit the estates two or three times a week, and, in case of emergency, the attendance of one of them can almost everywhere be commanded in two hours.

3. The general physical condition and health of the Indians, on all the plantations, appeared most satisfactory; the change of climate has greatly improved their constitutions. The superiority of the "buwa parree," or climate, is readily acknowledged by the natives themselves, from whatever province of India they may have come. The monthly average of sick in hospital, as far as we could ascertain, appears to be 66, or 6 per cent. on the whole: we are unable to show in figures the gradual improvement which has taken place in the health of the men since their arrival, because hospital-books have not been generally kept, as is directed for the apprentices, in which the names of the sick, the dates of the doctor's visits, and the medical treatment prescribed, should be briefly entered; the adoption of such a measure, we think, would be advisable, and much facilitate the making periodical returns of the sick, on any future inquiry as to proper medical treatment being afforded them.

4. We have carefully inquired into the mortality that has taken place, both from the masters and the Indians. On a few of the estates it has been, we regret to say, considerable; but in no instance could it be attributed to over-work or ill-treatment. The two estates belonging to Messrs. Hanning and Harris, which we particularly noticed for that perfect harmony and contentment which follow good management and kind treatment of Indians, present the heaviest mortality. Mr. Harris had been but a short time on the estate, and could therefore afford no information as to the state of the men on their arrival. Mr. Hanning communicated to the committee a certificate, signed by a medical man, as to the state of the men he received; twelve were labouring under bad chronic diseases, five of whom subsequently died. No other planter has taken the same precaution as Mr. Hanning.

5. In asserting that the bodily health of the Indians in this district is improved, we are borne out by the figured statement of mortality, which, in four years, presents an average of 2·74 per cent.; and taking that of the two last years, which embraces a larger number of Indians, the result would be still more favourable, the average being reduced to 2·33 per cent.

6. We have not to bring to the notice of government any case of systematical bad treatment, or breach of contract on the part of the master; the men are treated with humanity and mildness, and the work required of them, although more severe than that to which they have been accustomed in India, is much within what they could perform in a climate like this, so much more favourable to bodily exertion than their own.

7. We would beg to suggest the necessity of some regulation calculated to remove a general tendency to misunderstanding between the master and labourer, arising out of the great discrepancies which exist in the conditions of the different contracts, principally with regard to food and the hours of labour; they are to be found even on the same estate, where bands of Indians have been introduced at different periods; in some the articles of food are limited to rice and salt; an addition of a quarter of a rupee is sometimes made to the pay; but here it could never be considered as an equivalent for the ghee and dholl allowed them by other agreements.

8. In some of the contracts the Indian custom has been observed in fixing the hours of labour from sunrise to sunset, with an interval of three hours for meals; in others, they are from daylight till night; in others, again, they are left entirely to the discretion of the master, as will be seen by a reference to those abstracts of the different contracts we have annexed to our proceedings; where the hours are fixed, there is always a clause reserving to the master the right of extending the work, "if necessary," during the manufacturing season, that is, six months of the year.

9. We have communicated to the Indians the institution of a savings' bank in Port Louis, as affording a secure place of deposit for their money. We have met with about seventy men in this district who have saved money, one, a sirdar on Mr. Harris's estate, to the extent of six hundred rupees. It is to be observed, that more than half the number of the men we have examined have been but a short time in the island, and cannot yet have reimbursed the advances they are supposed to have received in India; the number of those that are provident would very rapidly increase were the masters more generally to encourage habits of economy in the Indians.

10. We have found the Indians aware of the obligation of the master to provide a passage back after the expiration of the contract; but we noticed that a few of the planters have an idea, which we think erroneous, regarding the right of the Indian to stay in the island, otherwise than in the service of his first master. Several labourers have put the question to the members of the committee. Although we expressed an opinion in the affirmative as to their right, we would think it advisable that all doubts on the subject should be cleared up in their minds, as many, rather than stop with an unkind master at the expiration of their contract, might leave the island, under the erroneous impression of being unable to change for a better. It would be but just, however, that the masters should be relieved from all responsibility towards the government with regard to the Indian who leaves his service and remains in the island. This responsibility might be easily transferred to the Indian himself, by requiring the deposit in the savings' bank of the thirty rupees retained by the master to provide for a passage back, at the labourer's expense, in case of misconduct.

11. A few complaints of personal chastisement by overseers were made by labourers on some of the estates; we never found it to have been sanctioned, or countenanced by the master: restraint has been employed only when necessary for the preservation of good order and discipline on the estate, such as in cases of drunkenness and riotous conduct. The power of punishing even the slave has for so many years been taken away from the master, and vested in a public officer, that we consider it improbable to suppose that a system of punishment by personal restraint and chastisement could be adopted towards free men, whom it is, moreover, so much the interest of the planter to conciliate in every way. On many

estate the more attempt at such a course of proceeding would have been attended with danger to the planter, for instead of the mild and inoffensive Hill Cooley, he would have had to deal with the bold and independent native of western India, whose disposition would ill brook severity and harsh treatment.

12. We estimate, from the bands of Indians hitherto examined, that more than half of the men brought from the Bengal presidency, are from the western provinces, where the duffadars and crimps found willing dupes to practise upon. The misrepresentation of the nature of the work, which many were led to expect would be mere (Baghee-cha-ka-kam) gardening, would not, from their distressed circumstances at the time, (in consequence of the famine,) have engendered a spirit of disappointment in those people on their arrival, had they not besides been plundered prior to embarkation of a great portion of the advances charged to the planters.

13. We will conclude with stating, that we are strongly impressed with the belief that the condition of the Indian in the island, is superior to what it is in most parts of India; but the ideas of natives differ so widely from our own on those points, that the true test of their real sentiments can only be expected at the close of their engagements. We have seen in Port Louis, several natives of Bombay introduced by Mr. Bickerjee, who have entered into contracts with Mr. Des Etangs, at an increased rate of wages: it has also come to our knowledge, that several natives of the coast of Coromandel, lately in the employ of Mr. Darifat, in this district, having completed their five years' service, have formed a new engagement with Mr. Amadowmy, of the Riviere du Rempart district.

We have, &c.

(Signed) C. M. CAMPBELL, President.
J. VILLIERS FORBES, J. HUGON, J. BURY, Members.

The Hon. Captain Dick,
Colonial Secretary, Port Louis.

boys for the first two years, and four rupees for the remaining three.

Food,	14 chittacks of rice	1 ounce of ghee
"	2 ditto dholl	1 ounce of salt.
Clothing per annum,	2 dhoties	1 jacket
		1 blanket 1 cap.

The whole system, as worked by a Mauritian planter, may be perfectly understood from this engagement, and I have no hesitation in saying it is one of gross imposition in its terms, and must be one of great oppression and suffering in its working. It should be observed, that, in cases of ill-treatment, the Coolies can only appeal for redress to the civil commissary of the Quarter or the Juge de Paix, both local officers, imbued with local prejudices, and often planters themselves.

On no estate does it appear that the commissioners inquired into the discipline practised on it; and, when instances of personal chastisement were brought to their notice, it was incidentally, and, as will be seen in their letter, treated lightly by them. On twelve estates out of the twenty-two, however, distinct cases of personal chastisement were brought under their attention, but no steps appear to have been recommended, or were taken, to punish the parties who were guilty of such illegal conduct. The opinion of the commissioners is worth nothing.

The few Coolies who have saved money are no doubt the "sirdars," or drivers of the gangs. It is their interest to make the people work, and in proportion to the zeal which they exhibit will be usually the reward they obtain.

Though no evidence appears on the minutes that the Coolies were brought to Mauritius otherwise than by their own consent, the commissioners nevertheless refer to the "duffadars and crimps" in India, who "found willing dupes to practice upon." What good results can be expected from a system engendered in fraud, and sustained by coercion? In an extract from the proceedings of the honourable the president in council in India, inserted in these papers, we find "that the methods adopted for procuring labourers to engage for service in colonies and places beyond sea are productive of serious frauds, and have led to much oppression, and that the system is a source of much injury and abuse, rather than of benefit to the labourers, in the form in which it is at present carried on." This extract is dated 11th July, 1838. The governor of Mauritius at a subsequent period, advertizing to the robbery and pillage of the Coolies previously to their leaving India, observes, that measures ought "to restrict the advance of wages" to them before their arrival in Mauritius, "so that," he adds, "the labourers, instead of finding themselves with several months' advance of wages to work out on their arrival here, may at once, or at least much earlier than at present, come into the receipt of wages for their labour, and thus be enabled to provide themselves with such comforts as they may require, previously to their proceeding to the different estates on which they are to be employed." How much of deplorable wretchedness and hardship does this sentence imply! Again he observes, "the promised advance of wages, it is to be feared, is not faithfully accounted for to the emigrants; also that false descriptions have been given them, as well of the place they were going to, as of the nature of their employment there; and that there are instances in which Indians have been hurried on board ship with whom no engagement had ever been made;" and still further he states, "In some cases, the proper allowance of food for the voyage has not been provided, medical inspection has not taken place previous to embarkation, nor medical attendance been furnished during the voyage!" Yet we are called upon to believe, in the face of all these facts, that the Coolies are so contented and happy, that they have no wish to change their situation! Finally, the commissioners, after having recorded in their minutes of evidence that the Coolies, all "speak favourably of the island," and that they would "recommend their friends to come here," confess in their letter that they can scarcely credit them; for they say, "the ideas of natives differ so widely from our own on these points, that the true test of their real sentiments can only be expected at the close of their engagements." How valueless does this remark render the whole of the evidence of the Coolies, taken by these gentlemen in the presence of their masters, in which they are represented as saying that they are satisfied with their treatment! But, after all, it is apparent, that, in their estimation, slavery in Mauritius is only to be preferred to famine in India; so that it is quite clear, that the extreme wretchedness and poverty of the Coolie in his own country, arising from bad laws infamously administered, is the point of comparison in the judgment of the commissioners with what they found to be their condition in the colony, to which they had been brought by fraud or force, where, whatever might be their sufferings, they would not be exposed quite to the horrors of death by starvation.

J. S.

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

We return in our present number to the consideration of the vast schemes which the planters are now concocting for the importation of labourers into the West Indies. In our last, we demurred to the allegations by which the colonial demand for more labour has been sustained. These are, first, a large deficiency in sugar and other cultivated staples arising from emancipation; and, secondly, the want of regular and continuous labour, as the cause of such deficiency. We showed at some length that there is but small foundation, if any, for either of

1.—Engaged to work for five years; transfer to be made by mutual consent before a public officer.

2.—To perform all work on a sugar estate.

3.—Hours of labour from sunrise to sunset, two hours allowed for meals; time of labour extended during the manufacturing of sugar, if necessary.

4.—To submit to such discipline as established by proprietor; not to absent themselves without written permission, under penalty of half a rupee per diem, and any misunderstanding to be submitted to legal authority.

5.—Medical aid to be borne by the master, except in cases of illness brought on by intemperance and misconduct. Labourers to receive no pay during illness.

6.—One rupee to be retained from their wages to pay passage back, in case of misconduct.

7.—The pay to commence from the date of their embarkation. Sirdars' pay at seven rupees per month; five rupees to labourers; four rupees to first class boys, and three rupees to second class

these allegations; that, on the contrary, there has been no general falling off in the crops, and little culpable deficiency of labour. Further evidence of a most convincing and satisfactory character might readily be adduced on these points; but we proceed rather to those which yet lie before us.

If the alleged deficiency of the crop and want of labour (the two great arguments for immigration) be not realities, the question naturally arises whether there are any other reasons for the general effort now making among the West Indians to promote it "on an extensive scale." The answer to this question is, that there are two other grounds of action, one avowed and the other suppressed, but both of them deserving our serious regard.

1. One additional reason of the present urgency for immigration is avowed; namely, the desire, not merely to maintain, but to *extend* the cultivation of the West Indies. Let us first produce the evidence of this, and then make our remarks upon it.

In proof of our statement we can refer to no document more conclusive than the memorandum submitted to Dr. Lushington, which is pervaded almost throughout by the idea of enlarged cultivation. "Guiana, fully peopled," says the writer, "would render Great Britain independent of slave-grown cotton from the United States." Again, "Our colonies well peopled with an industrious class of free labourers would not only be able to supply Britain and the colonies with all tropical productions, but might also be sufficient to supply all the continent of Europe." And again, "The value of our West India colonies, or their great resources, particularly in Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica, has not yet, for want of a numerous and industrious population, been ascertained; nor can this be accomplished until their population bear some proportion to their extent of soil." In the same strain Sir Edward Cust proposes this stringent query: "How is the cultivation of our colonial lands to be maintained, and *how can it be extended*, without an immigration of labourers from some other region?"

It is plain, then, beyond dispute, that one of the reasons by which the planters profess to be actuated in their urgency for immigration is a desire to extend to the utmost the cultivation of the colonies. To this of course we can have no objection, if it be done by just and honourable means. We must be permitted to remark, however, that in the present eagerness to extend colonial culture there is something both significant and suspicious. It has not been always so. On the contrary, this is quite a new feature in West India affairs; and certainly the present is a singular moment for its appearance, since it is precisely the moment of the origination of free labour. We have been told till our ears might have ached with the repetition of it, that free labour was the ruin of the colonies, that the system was impracticable, and would not only prevent the cultivation of new lands, but cause the abandonment of the old. Yet the system of free labour is no sooner introduced than the entire West Indians are agitating for extended cultivation. We claim this as the unequivocal verdict of that body in favour of free labour *as a source of wealth*. As a single fact, it contradicts all the representations which have been made of the ruinous effects of emancipation, and stamps them on the best authority as fraudulent and wicked. If free labour were not profitable, the planters, always true to their pockets, would never desire more of it. Yet it is for free labour—not, let it be observed, for slave labour—that they are so imperturbable, and for great quantities of it, enough even to cultivate every acre of the West Indies. It is about thirty years ago, that, because they could not compete in price with the Americans, the Guiana planters abandoned their extensive cotton estates; and all the while that slave labour lasted, they were left quietly enough to barrenness and the bush: but no sooner is free labour introduced, than, (according to the West Indians) hope revives of the profitable growth of this staple article, and of a successful competition with the American cultivator. We ask our readers whether, after this, one moment's regard can be due to the lamentations which have been so long and loud respecting colonies ruined by emancipation. The common sense of Englishmen will never suffer even West Indian jugglers to blow so *very hot and cold* with the same breath.

While, however, this anxiety for extended cultivation renders just but unwilling homage to the system of free labour, we must add, that, in our judgment, it lays no ground for the vast scheme of emigration contended for. The object of extended cultivation is, of course, the augmented wealth of the proprietors of estates; a very respectable body of persons, no doubt, but caring no more about the various patriotic and benevolent objects they have drawn into this argument—making Britain independent of American cotton, for example, and checking the famines in India—if they did not put money into their pockets, than for extinguishing the volcanoes in the moon. Now, we ask why British statesmen should be besieged, and the whole apparatus of the British government be set in motion, to devise and execute an organized system of immigration on an extensive scale, to enrich a few proprietors of West India estates? Who are these, that they are entitled to such consideration? Is it not enough for them to avail themselves of the universal tendency of mankind to attempt to better their condition, and to direct the tide of emigration to the West Indies by making them attractive? Let it be known that the peasantry in Guiana are happy, and others will come without solicitation to share their good fortune. And if they should not come fast enough to satisfy all who are hastening to be rich, we commend to them a little patience and moderation.

2. A second additional reason for the present outcry about

immigration we have said is suppressed; we mean, a desire on the part of the planters to control the market for labour. This, of course, they have not avowed, and we may be thought uncharitable in imputing it to them; but there is ample evidence of the fact. It is scarcely possible it should be otherwise. Until the period of emancipation there was, in the West Indies, no agricultural labour to be sold; either planters or jobbers had the absolute control of every working hand in the colonies. They cannot but be chagrined at the loss of this monopoly. To see fifty men, whom, a little while ago, he could have ordered to work where he pleased, now at liberty to sell their labour where they can get best paid for it, must cut a lordly attorney to the heart. It is a new and bitter thing for him to have to solicit labour, and it is annoying beyond endurance, when he offers his stingy terms, to be outbid by his neighbour. Every possible effort has been made by the planters to prevent the consolidation of this state of things—to prevent, that is to say, the establishment of a free market for labour. It was to effect this that they insisted on connecting tenancy and labour together; and it is for the same purpose that they still cling to the system of tenancy at will. They have striven desperately, and are still striving in a thousand ways, to dictate the price of labour, and withhold the peasant from getting the best price he can for it. And this, beyond all doubt, is one of the ends, if not the principal end, they have in view by forcing a large immigration. They want to get labour cheaper, and to have labourers so plentiful that they may not be dependent upon any, but may be able to oppress all. We have no belief, if we confess the truth, in the apparent eagerness of the West Indians to cultivate such vast quantities of new land. We suspect this is little more than a hoax, which will have answered its purpose when it shall have enticed to their estates a great number of persons, who, by their very multitude, will cause such a glut of labour, that wages enough to procure a miserable subsistence must be thankfully taken, with as much kicking and cuffing as the laughing planters shall be pleased to add to it. We ask no pardon for entertaining such an opinion of the planters. We admit honourable exceptions, but, as a body, they have earned it by many deeds; and we never can relinquish it, but upon unequivocal evidence of a new and different career.

The point now before us is one of great importance, and is worthy of the deepest consideration. It is evident that the welfare of immigrants must altogether depend on the state of the market for labour. They can expect nothing from the mere kindness of the planters. They have their labour to sell, and they will get nothing more for it than it may be worth. If there be little labour to be sold and many buyers, they will get good terms; but if the stock of labour be large, wages must be proportionably small, and they may be small even to starvation. To the really free emigrant the consideration of this is of the utmost moment. It is not enough for him that he gets to Guiana or Trinidad; the all important question for him is, what will be the state of the labour market when I arrive there? For a single person to go without satisfactory information on this point would be folly; but for an extensive system of immigration to be entered on, in which, whatever might be known about the market for labour, no prompt or adequate regard could be paid to it, would be nothing short of infatuation. It must lead directly to a glut and depreciation of labour, of which the consequences would be altogether deplorable and dreadful.

The only security presented to us against this result is the word of the planters that they will cultivate the colonies to the last acre; which, we take leave to say, is no security at all. We are not sure they mean it; since it is scarcely credible that men of their shrewdness should really design so vastly to enlarge a system which they denounce as ruinous. And even if they did mean it now, we do not believe that they would execute their design: we are persuaded that they would rather work the present estates at the enormous profits which a glut of labour would afford them, than extend cultivation greatly for a moderate return. But, whatever might happen in this case, we have not the slightest shadow of security for the fulfilment of a single promise. Who is to bind them to their word? What is the penalty if they break it? Where is to be seen so much as the formal declaration of a single planter to this effect? "Send us hundreds of thousands of labourers," say the West Indians, "because we want to cultivate waste lands;" and when hundreds of thousands of men have been sent to their shores, and the planters prefer to revel amidst low prices of labour and a starving peasantry, we shall have richly earned both their ridicule and contempt.

Thus much we have said on the supposition that a large extension of colonial culture is at the option of the West Indians. We are by no means sure, however, that this is the case. The writers we have quoted artfully tell us that Guiana can produce cotton enough to make us independent of the United States, and that our West India colonies can supply all Europe with tropical productions; but this is only one part of the case. An important and indispensable question is, at what price can they do it. Can they grow cotton and coffee, sugar and spices, at a price which will command the market? Of what use will it be to grow them, or how long will they continue to do so, if the sales yield them no profit? Now we do not believe that our West Indians have imagined for a moment that they can compete with the Americans in the price of cotton, or that they can command the European market for sugar and coffee. It is, on the contrary, perfectly notorious that they cannot. It was for this reason, and not for want of labour, that the extensive cotton plantations of Guiana

were abandoned thirty years ago ; and for the same reason, whatever number of labourers you send there, they cannot be restored now. As to sugar, every body knows that (although our colonies ought to produce it as cheap as any others) it is only a monopoly of the English market that finds any sale for British grown sugars at all ; a free trade would drive them out of every market in the world. And the case is substantially the same with coffee and spices. Yet these West Indians talk of a vast extension of their agriculture, in order to supersede growers who sell already much cheaper than themselves ! It is an utter fallacy, and they know it. The cry for labourers is not meant for the cultivation of new lands ; it is intended to produce a glut of labour, that they may have the control of the market.

Now this is a design to which certainly no friends of the West Indian peasantry should lend themselves. It is clear that, if the planters can dictate the terms of labour, they will perpetuate the habits of slavery. These habits are both fixed on them by long custom, and endeared to them by a love of ease and power ; and they will never yield but to necessity. A healthy state of the market for labour creates this necessity, and is the practical cure for habits of oppression. If there be a sufficient demand for labour, bad masters will get no work-people ; and thus, in order to get work done, they will be obliged to become better masters. Such a state of things is important every where, and at all times ; but at no period, and in no community, can it be more important than in the emancipated colonies of Great Britain at the present moment.

We are aware that, if evils of one kind may arise from the control of the labour-market being in the hands of the planters, evils of another kind would arise from its being in the hands of the labourers. We have no wish that it should be so ; neither is it possible that it should be so for any considerable period. The current of voluntary emigration will soon equalize this. Wherever labour is largely remunerated labourers will go of themselves ; and every thing will thus be secured which good masters want, and which bad ones ought to possess.

We must now close our remarks for the present ; but the subject is far from being exhausted.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 26TH.

SIR CHARLES METCALFE, the new governor of Jamaica, has sent home his first impressions of the state of things in that island, in a long despatch for which we cannot find room. We must content ourselves with a few extracts and comments. The despatch is dated the 16th of October, 1839 ; on which day he had been at Spanish Town somewhat more than three weeks. His views, therefore, must have been taken very much from those with whom he had been in communication, and are (as he truly says) "not entitled to much credit." Some of them are evidently the echo of the island clamour, the mere voice of the planters speaking through an official organ ; but in other instances his excellency shews a commendable independence and power of discrimination. The following passages are significant :—

4. It is to be hoped that the utter ruin of estates will not take place to any great extent ; but it is confidently predicted that it must in many instances. The poorer proprietors, accustomed to pay for labour by the method of provision-ground, with little outlay of money, and perhaps none until the value of their crop had been secured, find it difficult, if not impossible, to raise the means of paying labourers daily or weekly, and that, too, without the certainty of obtaining labour when it may be most required, for the labourers are shy of entering into any engagements.

7. As a counterpoise to the power of the labourers over wages, the proprietors have that of charging rent for the houses and grounds tenanted by the labourers, and this right is often exercised with a view to counterbalance, as much as possible, the payment of wages, and not with reference purely to the value of the house and grounds. Thus, in many instances, the rent of a house is charged, not at a rate fixed for the house, but at a rate fixed for each occupant of the house. These counter claims for rent and wages keep up much irritation and litigation, but will, it is to be hoped, in time be settled on the basis of mutual interest.

10. In some instances labourers have purchased small lots of land, and thus become proprietors. I should be glad if this were a general practice. It would put an end to the causes of irritation, which may continue to exist while they hold their houses and grounds on an uncertain tenure, while it would not necessarily throw them out of the labouring class, their properties not being sufficiently large to exempt them entirely from the necessity of seeking other means of support ; where they are tenants on the properties of others, they are anxious to obtain leases for their grounds ; which the proprietors are willing to give, if the labourers would enter into engagements to labour for similar periods ; but the latter are adverse to any contracts with respect to labour, and the former, or their representatives, do not like to relinquish the hold which they consider themselves as having on the labourers by keeping them as tenants at will.

11. I do not perceive any remedy for this state of things, except what time and a mutual sense of self-interest may supply. I should apprehend that legislation can do little or nothing towards amendment ; and that it will be most advisable to let these matters take their natural course. If justice be fairly administered to all parties, they will, it may be hoped, come to a right understanding among themselves.

The governor honours the Baptists with especial notice, and states their case with an apparent endeavour after impartiality. Under all the circumstances, although he evidently lends a guarded sanction to the current censures of this body, we are glad to find that he speaks of them so mildly. He concludes his notice of them in the following terms :

If the political power exercised by the Baptists be an evil—and I am disposed, generally speaking, to think that it is an evil, whenever the ministers of religion deviate from their purely religious functions, to take a part in the strife and broils of political parties—it is an evil which does not admit of any present remedy. Either their influence will diminish, from their flocks not liking to pay the amount requisite for the support of their church establishment, or it will continue to increase by the activity of the Baptists drawing more into their fold. In the latter case, whether their influence be a bane or a blessing to the country must depend on the spirit in which it is exercised. On the whole, although I esteem the conduct of the other missionaries, in confining themselves to their religious duties, and abstaining from political strife, as more admirable and more beneficial to the country than that of the Baptists, nevertheless, if the good and the evil done by the latter were to be weighed against each other, the good, I conceive, would preponderate. The benefit of religious instruction, and of its moral consequences, seems sufficient to warrant that conclusion.

Moderate as this may seem, we venture to predict, that, when Sir Charles Metcalfe knows the Baptists better, he will speak of them in very different language. The public, in the meantime, will attach much more weight to the testimony of Sir Lionel Smith, who has long known them, as borne in his recent reply to the address of the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, which as it is short and to the purpose, we insert entire.

GENTLEMEN—I thank you very cordially for your kind address of congratulation on my return to England.

The ministers of your society in Jamaica have not only deserved well of the oppressed negroes, but have been of the strongest support to her Majesty's government in that colony, by giving effect to those measures of amelioration which ultimately terminated in freedom.

It was my duty there to see that great measure, so dearly purchased, completed in all its objects ; but it was the constant endeavour of the planters, notwithstanding compensation, to preserve to themselves the advantages of slavery.

The calumnies so industriously circulated by the planters against the ministers of your church have been proportioned to the good they have done in exposing oppression, and guiding the negroes in their moral and religious improvement.

The abuse of such men is quite harmless, and will never, I hope, deter the friends of the negroes in this country from watching over their interests.

I thank you, gentlemen, very sincerely, for the expression of all your good wishes, and I would beg to assure you, I shall always entertain a grateful sense of the benefit I witnessed from the labours of your mission in Jamaica.

(Signed)

LIONEL SMITH.

WE extract the following from the *Dominica Colonist* of the 14th December last, the official paper of the island, and one we believe not hitherto overprone to liberal sentiments :

The Quarterly Session was held on Wednesday last, and although the calendar contained the names of many offenders, the offences were in general of a trivial nature. For the credit of the agricultural part of our population, we are happy to say that but one case came before the grand jury, and that for cane stealing. This is saying a great deal for our peasantry, a class of people but lately emerged from slavery, and from whom, we could not naturally expect such good conduct, after so sudden a transition to the full exercise of their liberty. The solitary instance we have just alluded to is a strong corroboration of the steady behaviour of the labouring portion of the community, and we fully hope they will continue to exhibit so good an example to their other brethren of the colony."

And how do our readers suppose the board of council of Dominica, under the guidance of Mr. Blanc, encourage this good conduct on the part of their labouring population ? Why, by upholding that, when at their criminal court they are found not guilty, or "no bill" is returned by the grand jury, these labourers, living upon their daily earnings, must be called upon to pay some fifty shillings sterling as fees upon the prosecution, or be sent to prison until such fees be paid ; and this position the council has for a long while maintained, and continue to maintain, in spite of the recommendations of the colonial office, in spite of the assembly, and now, it appears, in spite of the grand jury of the island.

We made known in a former number an instance of a woman found not guilty, having been kept five months in prison for want of means to meet those fees, when the governor released her : the council, urged on by Mr. Blanc, their president, refused assent to the act, by refusing a vote proposed by the assembly to charge the fees to the colony. We at the same time made known the state of the law on this subject in the island. Were we right or wrong in that statement ? Hear what the grand jury (we quote from the same official paper of the island) told the court of grand sessions on the 11th December last : "The grand jury cannot but lament the existing state of the common law, by which persons against whom bills may be ignored by the grand jury, or who may be acquitted by the petit jury, are compelled to pay the fees of the court attendant on their prosecution, or suffer imprisonment until the same be paid, a hardship which cries loudly for redress." Yes, "loudly," for the note from the Dominica grand jury room has crossed the Atlantic, is now responded to from our office, and will be re-echoed from Downing Street, back to the guilty council hall of Dominica.

We extract also from the legislative proceedings of the assembly an address from that body to the governor, together with a string of resolutions on the subject of the want of laws in the island, plainly referring the want of those laws to the hostile conduct of the board of council : it might be of service to Lord John Russell to read the documents.

Resolved, 1st.—"That it is with feelings of no ordinary concern this house perceives that, during the long period of seventeen months which has elapsed since its election, the book of laws presents a list of only three

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acts, (two of which were for the termination of the apprenticeship of the prudential apprentices and labourers,) as having passed the three branches of the legislature; the more particularly, as during the eight months immediately preceding the election of this house, no laws could be enacted, owing to the functions of the legislature having been held in abeyance: circumstances which not only arrest the attention of the public, but, as appears from the correspondence of the colonial agent, and from a communication received from the executive, have attracted the notice of her Majesty's government.

2ndly.—"That it affords some consolation to this house to discover, from a return to an order of this house of measures passed by the same, that this house has not been unmindful of the trust reposed therein by the constituency of the island, sundry bills and resolutions having since its election been fully carried through the house, comprising most of the laws rendered necessary by the recent altered state of the community effected by the abolition of slavery.

3rdly.—"That taking into consideration the great sacrifice of personal convenience to which this house has patiently submitted in the consideration and discussion to the best of its judgment of the various measures referred to, so many of which yet remain to become law, also the inability of this house to enter into further compromise with reference to the structure of these enactments supported as these measures are by the enlightened recommendations of the Queen's government, as well as the wishes of the community; this house feels compelled, in justice to itself, and in deference to the executive government, to tender to his excellency the lieutenant-governor a copy of the return referred to, setting forth the labours of this house and their results, in the desire of obviating any blame which may be ascribed to the representatives of the people, as well as with the sincere hope that the consideration of his excellency may be directed to the unfortunate situation of the country, entirely destitute of all laws the most urgently required, and that his excellency's influence may be instrumental in accelerating the final passing of statutes for the good of the community.

His Honor the Speaker and House of Assembly, to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor.

The house begs leave to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's message of the 6th instant by which it is informed that your excellency has been instructed specially to convene the council and assembly; and, with the object of obtaining a formal explanation, to apprise the legislature that the delay of many measures which have been so long recommended to them, and which are so urgently required, has attracted the notice of her Majesty's government.

Satisfied as this house ever has been with the sound and liberal policy of the Queen's government towards the colonies, it has at all times, in accordance with its repeated professions to former governors and also to your excellency, been found ready to lend its co-operation in carrying out to the best of its judgment the measures from time to time specifically recommended to the legislature, in so far as the local circumstances of the island and the varying interests of the constituency would allow of their beneficial application. Accordingly upon a reference to the proceedings of this house, and in the absence of any allusion in your excellency's message to particular measures or to any definite period, it will appear that this house has entertained and passed a variety of laws and resolutions, comprising almost the whole of those subjects to which attention has been directed since its election urgently called for, as they have moreover been by the actual necessities of the country. The measures for raising necessary means to meet the quota of this island in the expenses of the intended judicial system, for providing salaries for certain prison officers, and revising the criminal code, continue to engage the attention of the house.

For the delay, therefore, which has occurred subsequently to the passing by the house of the measures in question, the assembly is in no wise responsible, and consequently conceives itself exempted from the necessity of affording any explanation, although such delay has been to the house matter of concern and regret, feelings which have now been heightened by the information imparted by your excellency, that the same has attracted the notice of her Majesty's government.

"Impressed with a sense of the inconvenience and danger resulting from so anomalous a situation as is presented in the want of suitable laws for the government of the people, and anxious to afford every constitutional explanation to the constituency and to the executive government,

"This house had anticipated the demand contained in your excellency's message, and at a late meeting, ordered—'That there should be prepared and laid before it a return of all bills and resolutions passed by the house of assembly since its election in May, 1838, &c., with a copy of which the house begs leave herewith to furnish your excellency.'

House of Assembly, 8th November, 1839.

What are they doing at the colonial office! We learn from private sources that there is "dreadful work" at St. Lucia, in the West Indies, a state of things "striking at the very roots of good order and the prosperity of the colony;" and King Stephen is asleep! By the way, can it be true that this viceroy over my Lord John has been coaxed into a promise, that, if Governor Light should come home on leave, or should resign, Mr. Young, the colonial secretary, shall be his successor? Governor Light has for a long time lain very heavy on us, and on British Guiana; and we should not be the last to congratulate ourselves and that colony on the prospect of a change.

NEW ANTI-SLAVERY MEASURES OF GOVERNMENT: BRITISH FACTORIES ON THE NIGER.

Copy of a letter from the Right Hon. Lord John Russell to the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury.

Downing-street, Dec. 26th, 1839.

My Lords—The state of the foreign slave-trade has, for some time past, engaged much of the attention of her Majesty's confidential advisers. In whatever light this traffic is viewed, it must be regarded as an evil of incalculable magnitude; the injuries it inflicts on the lawful commerce of this country, the constant expense incurred in the employment of ships of war for the suppression of it, and the annual sacrifice of so many valuable lives in this service, however deeply to be lamented, are not the

most disastrous results of this system. The honour of the British crown is compromised by the habitual evasion of the treaties subsisting between her Majesty and foreign powers for the abolition of the slave-trade; and the calamities which, in defiance of religion, humanity, and justice, are inflicted on a large proportion of the African continent, are such as cannot be contemplated without the deepest and most lively concern. The Houses of Lords and Commons have, in their addresses to the crown, expressed in the most energetic terms the indignation with which Parliament regards the continuance of the trade in African slaves, and their anxious desire that every practicable method should be taken for the extinction of this great social evil.

To estimate the actual extent of the foreign slave trade, is, from the nature of the case, an attempt of extreme difficulty; nor can anything more than a general approximation to the truth be made. But after the most attentive examination which it has been in my power to make of official documents, and especially of the correspondence communicated to parliament from the department of her Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, I find it impossible to avoid the conclusion, that the average number of slaves introduced into foreign states or colonies in America and the West Indies from the western coast of Africa annually, exceeds 100,000. In this estimate a very large deduction is made for the exaggerations which are more or less inseparable from all statements on a subject so well calculated to excite the feelings of every impartial and disinterested witness. But making this deduction, the number of slaves actually landed in the important countries affords but a very imperfect indication of the real extent of the calamities which this traffic inflicts on its victims. No record exists of the multitudes who perish in the overland journey to the African coast, or in the passage across the Atlantic, or of the still greater number who fall a sacrifice to the warfare, pillage, and cruelties by which the slave-trade is fed. Unhappily, however, no fact can be more certain, than that such an importation as I have mentioned pre-supposes and involves a waste of human life, and a sum of human misery, proceeding from year to year without respite or intermission, to such an extent as to render the subject the most painful of any which, in the survey of the condition of mankind, it is possible to contemplate.

The preceding statement unavoidably suggests the inquiry, why the costly efforts in which Great Britain has so long been engaged for repressing the foreign slave-trade have proved thus ineffectual? Without pausing to enumerate the many concurrent causes of failure, it may be sufficient to say that, such is the difference between the price at which a slave is bought on the coast of Africa, and the price for which he is sold in Brazil or Cuba, that the importer receives back his purchase-money tenfold on the safe arrival of his vessel at the port of destination. It is more than probable that the general profits of his trade, if accurately calculated, would fall exceedingly below this estimate, as indeed it is certain that in many cases it is carried on at a ruinous loss. But your lordships are well aware how powerful and constant an impulse may be given to any species of illegal traffic, however hazardous, when they who engage in it are allured by the hope of very large and quick returns, if their good fortunes could enable them to escape the penalties of the law. It may therefore be readily understood how effective is such a stimulus, when, as in the case in question, the law itself is regarded with general disfavour in the society to which the violator of it belongs, and is reluctantly executed by the government of that society. We must add to this exciting motive the security which is derived from insurances and insurance companies, which are carried on to a great extent and combine powerful interests. Under such circumstances, to repress the foreign slave-trade by a marine guard would scarcely be possible, if the whole British navy could be employed for that purpose. It is an evil which can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties.

Her Majesty's confidential advisers are therefore compelled to admit the conviction that it is indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system, calculated to arrest the foreign slave-trade in its source, by counteracting the principles by which it is now sustained. Although it may be impossible to check the cupidity of those who purchase slaves for exportation from Africa, it may yet be possible to force on those by whom they are sold the persuasion that they are engaged in a traffic opposed to their own interests, when correctly understood.

With this view it is proposed to establish new commercial relations with those African chiefs or powers within whose dominions the internal slave-trade of Africa is carried on, and the external slave-trade supplied with its victims. To this end the Queen has directed her ministers to negotiate conventions or agreements with those chiefs and powers, the basis of which conventions would be, first, the abandonment and absolute prohibition of the slave-trade; and, secondly, the admission for consumption in this country, on favourable terms, of goods the produce or manufacture of the territories subject to them. Of those chiefs, the most considerable rule over the countries adjacent to the Niger and its great tributary streams. It is therefore proposed to dispatch an expedition, which would ascend that river by steam-boats, as far as the points at which it receives the confluence of some of the principal rivers falling into it from the eastward. At these, or at any other stations which may be found more favourable for the promotion of a legitimate commerce, it is proposed to establish British factories, in the hope that the natives may be taught that there are methods of employing the population more profitable to those to whom they are subject, than that of converting them into slaves, and selling them for exportation to the slave traders.

In this communication it would be out of place, and indeed impracticable, to enter upon a full detail of the plan itself, of the ulterior measures to which it may lead, or of the reasons which induce her Majesty's government to believe that it may eventually lead to the substitution of an innocent and profitable commerce for that traffic by which the continent of Africa has so long been desolated. For my immediate purpose it will be sufficient to say that, having maturely weighed these questions, and with a full perception of the difficulties which may attend this undertaking, the Ministers of the Crown are yet convinced that it affords the best, if not the only, prospect of accomplishing the great object so earnestly desired by the Queen, by her parliament, and her people.

Having instituted a careful inquiry as to the best and most economical method of conducting the proposed expedition, I find from the enclosed communication from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that it will be necessary to build three iron steam-vessels for this service, and that the first cost of those vessels, including provisions and stores for six months, will amount to £35,000. It further appears that the annual charge of paying and victualling the officers and men will be £10,546

The salaries of the conductors of the expedition, and of their chaplain and surgeon, will probably amount to £4000. In addition to this expenditure, presents must be purchased for the chiefs, and tents, mathematical instruments, with some other articles of a similar kind, will be indispensable for the use of the persons who are to be engaged in this service, when at a distance from their vessels. I have some time since given directions for the completion of this additional estimate, but with those directions it has not hitherto been found practicable to comply. The charge for this branch of the proposed service will not be very considerable.

I have to convey to your lordships my recommendation that in the estimates to be laid before the House of Commons for the services of the year 1840, the sums be included which are necessary to provide for the expenses of the proposed expedition to the Niger on the scale already mentioned, under the several heads of the expenditure. I have, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

**NEW MEASURES AGAINST THE SLAVE-TRADE :
LORD PALMERSTON'S ACT.**

[The following despatches have been communicated to the Court of Policy in British Guiana.]

(Circular.)

Downing-street, 23rd September, 1839.

Sir,—I transmit to you herewith, for your information and guidance, copy of a letter from her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, together with copies of the letters addressed to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty by Viscount Palmerston, signifying her Majesty's pleasure as to the measures which should be taken to give effect to the late act of the Imperial Parliament, for the suppression of the Slave-Trade.

As the commanders of her Majesty's cruisers will receive instructions to send all vessels captured under the Portuguese flag, being concerned in the traffic in slaves, to the nearest British port or settlement, where the negroes found on board are to be immediately landed, and placed under the care of the Governor, or other officer administering the government, I have to desire that you will make such arrangements as may be necessary for the care and support of any Africans who, under such instructions, may be landed and set free in the colony under your government.

You will, of course, understand that this instruction is not to supersede the directions with which you are provided for obtaining employment for Africans liberated by the capture of slave vessels, but it is intended only to indicate a temporary resource against destitution.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

J. RUSSELL.

Governor Light.

(Slave Trade.)

Foreign Office, 15th August, 1839.

My Lords.—I have received the Queen's commands, in conformity with her Majesty's recent answer to an address from the House of Lords, to signify to your lordships her Majesty's pleasure, that orders should immediately be given to her Majesty's cruisers employed in the suppression of the slave-trade, to seize, detain, and send in all vessels under the Portuguese flag, wherever met with, either north or south of the line, which may be found with slaves on board, or equipped for the slave-trade.

I suggest to your lordships that the commanders of her Majesty's cruisers should be directed to send such vessels as above described to the nearest British port or settlement, and that the negroes found on board such vessels should be immediately landed at the nearest British port or settlement, and should be placed under care of the governor or other officer in command; and that the naval officers should be informed that further instructions will be sent to them, as to the manner in which the vessels and their cargoes, and the crews belonging to them, should be disposed of.

I have, &c.,

PALMERSTON.

To the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, &c.

(Slave Trade.)

Foreign Office, August 31st, 1839.

My Lords.—I transmit herewith to your lordships a copy of an act of Parliament, which has recently been passed for the suppression of the slave-trade; and I have to signify to your lordships her Majesty's pleasure, that the necessary steps be taken for establishing courts of Vice-Admiralty within her Majesty's dominions and colonies abroad, where such courts may be requisite for the adjudication of vessels which may be captured under the provisions of this act, and where such courts may not now exist.

I am, &c.

PALMERSTON.

To the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, &c.

(Slave Trade.)

Foreign Office, 14th September, 1839.

My Lords.—With reference to my letter of the 15th of August, 1839, to your lordships, signifying her Majesty's pleasure that orders should be given to her Majesty's cruisers to seize and detain all Portuguese slave ships wherever met with, to send such vessels to the nearest British port or settlement, and to land the negroes and place them under the care of the governor or other officers in command; I have to signify to your lordships her Majesty's pleasure that orders should be given to the commanders of her Majesty's cruisers employed in the suppression of the slave-trade, that all vessels so detained shall be brought for adjudication before the court of Vice Admiralty established in that British colony, which may most easily be reached from the place of detention, or in that colony where the detained vessels might lie most safely during the trial, and that the crews of such vessels be sent to that part of the Portuguese dominions to which it may be most convenient to convey them, in order that they may be delivered up to the Portuguese authorities; and if in any case it should be practicable, without material inconvenience, to send with these crews any evidence that would be sufficient to procure their conviction before a Portuguese tribunal, upon a charge of slave-trading, it would be desirable that such evidence shall be sent with them.

I have further to signify to your lordships her Majesty's pleasure that instructions be given to the commanders of her Majesty's cruisers above-mentioned, that if any vessel which they may have searched, in accordance with their instructions, shall be found to be engaged in slave-trade, or to be equipped for slave-trade, but to have no papers proving her to be entitled to the protection of any flag; and, therefore, it should be impossible for the captors to establish the competency of any mixed commission, or of the ordinary tribunals of any foreign country to take cognizance of such vessel, and to pronounce sentence upon her as belonging to the country for which such mixed commission, or such ordinary tribunal, is authorized to act; then, and in such case, the commanders of her Majesty's cruisers are to send such vessels, as in the case above-mentioned, for adjudication by some court of British Vice Admiralty, under the provisions of the Act of Parliament recently passed on this subject; and the slaves on board such vessels are to be landed in the colony or settlement to which the vessel may be so sent, and are there to be placed under the care of the governor, or other officer in command.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

PALMERSTON.

To the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

COTTON AND SLAVERY.

(Extract from Mr. Thompson's 'Lecture at Darlington, for the British India Society. From the *Durham Chronicle*.)

THE economical bearings of the Anti-slavery question cannot be too closely studied by the abolitionists of the present day. If the question of free labour was important while slavery existed in our own colonies, it is doubly so now that we are called to act upon the slavery of other countries. We doubtless have it in our power to shake to their foundations those institutions of oppression which owe their existence to the pecuniary stimulus offered to the employment of coerced labour, by bringing into direct competition the products of free culture in British India. While our literature, our religious appeals, and our political treaties, are putting under the ban systems that are a disgrace to all concerned in their continuance, it is to the silent but sure operation of the competition I have referred to that we must look for the withdrawal of those motives which will otherwise be found to prevail, in spite of every other instrumentality. On this vitally important branch of the subject, I will to-night refer to the opinions of a party, perhaps, better qualified to judge of the comparative value of various agencies now in use than any other—I mean the abolitionists of the United States. They have the best opportunities of judging of the results of the various means that are employed to effect the downfall of slavery—more particularly of those which are employed on this side of the water. Let us, then, attend to what they say respecting the relation in which we stand to the foul system which they are seeking to destroy. Let us see what their views are concerning the probable results of a mild and fostering system of government in the East, and the encouragement of free labour tropical produce by the consumers of this country. In the preface to the first American edition of the late work of Mr. Buxton on the slave-trade, I find the following remarks and quotation:—

"By a vigorous and united effort, the slave-cursed cotton and rice of America might be excluded from British ports, to give place to the rice of Patna, and the cotton of Bengal. Our friends on the other side of the water have been reminded of their power and responsibility in this matter by one of their bitterest enemies, the slave proprietor Gladstone, who resisted in the British parliament to the last every measure of emancipation. In his speech on the 30th of March, 1838, against the abolition of the apprenticeship system, he thus taunted his zealous opponents:—' You (said the honourable gentleman) who are so sick with apprenticeship in the West Indies—you who cannot wait for twenty-four months, when the apprentices will be free, are you aware what responsibility lies upon *every one of you* at this moment, with reference to the cultivation of cotton in America? There are 3,000,000 of slaves in America. America does not talk of abolition, nor of the amelioration of slavery. It is a domestic institution which appears destined to descend to the posterity of that free people; and who are responsible for this enormous growth of what appears to be *ETERNAL SLAVERY*? Is it not the demand that creates this supply, and is it not the consumption of cotton from whence that demand arises? You consume 318,000,000lbs. of cotton, which proceed from slave labour, and only 45,000,000lbs. which proceed from free labour; that too, while you have the means in India, at a very little expense, of obtaining all you require from free labour.'

I have this day perused with no ordinary pleasure, an article in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, of the 24th October last, in which the importance and necessity of the movement in which we are engaged is convincingly set forth—not only by the amiable and gifted editor, but by an American cotton planter, in a letter which the editor quotes. I shall submit this article without abridgment; recommending it at the same time to the serious consideration of every individual who desires to be instrumental in pulling down the strongholds of slavery. While it convicts us of guilt and inconsistency, it also opens to us prospects of influence and usefulness which ought to animate us to instant exertion. The destinies of the slave are in our hands. We hold the key of his prison-house. How long shall we look imploredly over the waves, and sorrowfully upbraid us with being the guardians of his dungeon? Is it true that "the speedy termination or indefinite extension and perpetuation of American slavery" depends upon the increase or discouragement of "cotton cultivation on the Peninsula of British India," and shall we longer treat as secondary and subordinate so plain and simple a remedy as that which is here pointed out and insisted upon? If in the days of

ignorance such a course might be winked at, we are now called upon to repent, and to bring forth fruit meet for repentance.

I will now read this article, which should stand out in blazing characters before the eyes of this cotton-consuming community, as long as a slave is kept to grow the plant, and send its produce to our shores :—

COTTON AND SLAVERY.

We have before us the Charleston South Carolina Courier of the 12th inst., containing an article from the "South Carolinian" on the subject of the "Cotton Circular," of some of the planter politicians of the south and west. The plan proposed by the circular to effect a combination between the banking interests of the south and the great commercial cities and the cotton planter, whereby the former shall advance to the latter to nearly the value of his cotton, so as to enable him to hold it until the market is favourable, the writer strongly objects to, as based upon the assumption that the cotton planters as a class are *debtors*. He admits that such is the fact to a great extent in regard to the planters of the south-west—but maintains that there is also a large class in the south, who are not in debt, and stand in no need of bank advances to enable them to anticipate their annual income of cotton. He inquires somewhat significantly whether a combination to *keep up* the price of cotton would not almost necessarily produce combinations to *keep it down*, and suggests whether it might not make it the interest of consumers in France and Great Britain to *encourage and foster the production of cotton out of the United States* and beyond the reach of such combinations of banks and planters as are contemplated in the "Cotton Circular."

The concluding portion of the article is worthy of attention, as it may furnish the friends of emancipation with some hints as to the *great obstacle now in the way of their object*.

"The southern planter, if he confines himself to planting, *without speculation*, asks no aid from banks—his cotton will be his passport through the commercial world. By the blessing of Heaven, he is enabled to raise the noblest weed that was ever given for the comfort of the human family—a weed destined to make a new era in modern commerce, if those who raise it have spirit and virtue enough to scorn and defy the banking and speculative quacks of the day. *I have no idea that the slave-holding race could maintain their liberty or independence for five years without cotton.* It is that which gives us our energy, our enterprise, our intelligence! and commands the respect of foreign powers. The Egyptian may look with devotion to his Nilé, as the source of the power and wealth of Egypt: the pilgrim and inhabitant of the Holy Land may bathe in the sacred Jordan, and take comfort in the belief that he has washed away his sins. The Hindoo may worship the lotus, under an idea that Vishnu created Bramah from its unfolded flowers: but a genuine slaveholder in *South Carolina*, will ever look with reverence to the cotton plant, as the source of his power and his liberty. All the parchments upon earth could never protect him from the grasping avarice and financial fury of modern society. If he expects to preserve the *PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS* of his country, and *transmit them to posterity*, he must teach his children to hold the cotton plant in one hand and the sword in the other, ever ready to defend it.

A COTTON PLANTER."

We hope the above paragraph will meet the eyes of British abolitionists. It will show them that they have a mighty responsibility in the question of the speedy termination or indefinite extension and perpetuation of American slavery. Cotton is now the great anti-abolition influence of this country. In whatever shape opposition to the cause of emancipation manifests itself—whether in the church or the state—in a mercantile or ecclesiastical association—it may be traced directly back to the cotton-bale. Were English and French manufacturers supplied with Indian or Egyptian cotton, the demand for slaves from Virginia and Maryland would cease—the growers of men and women for the cotton-planting region would find no market for their human staple,—and as a consequence, slavery would be unprofitable, and as another consequence, Virginia statesmen would begin to believe with Thomas Jefferson, "that all men are created equal;"—and Virginian divines—the Plummers and the Hills,—would very soon discover that slavery is incompatible with genuine Presbyterianism, whether of the old or the new school. *Slavery now lies entrenched behind its cotton-bags*—like General Jackson at New Orleans: and the efforts of British or even American abolitionists to dislodge it by moral suasion, we fear will prove as ineffectual as those of General Packenham, to force the cotton barricades of the American camp, on the 8th January, 1816. *We call, then, upon the abolitionists of Great Britain, to urge their government to foster and promote, to the extent of its power, the cultivation of cotton in the Indies.* By so doing, they will promote the true interest of their own country—they will confer an incalculable benefit upon ours—they will lift the crushed millions of India from their degradation—and strike off the chains from three millions of American slaves.

The present annual product of cotton in Asia is estimated at 190,000,000 pounds: that in Egypt at about 30,000,000. It is stated by Dr. Bowring, of England, that the slave-trade which has heretofore desolated one of the finest cotton tracts in the world—the confluence of the blue and white Nile—has been prohibited by Mehemet Ali; and that from henceforth the cultivation will go on without interruption. In this tract the finest cotton is found growing in the woods, uncultured by human hands. In the British possessions of the East, no longer weighed down by the monopoly of the East India Company, but open to enterprise, the cotton cultivation must necessarily receive a favourable impulse. WE CONFESS THAT ONE OF OUR MAIN RELIANCES, UNDER GOD FOR THE BLOODLESS TERMINATION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY IS THE INCREASE OF COTTON CULTIVATION IN THE PENINSULA OF BRITISH INDIA.

THE OBERLIN INSTITUTE.

(From the London and Westminster Review. Art. The Martyr Age of the United States.)

The next year (1834) was a stirring year. The "Young Men" of the large cities began to associate themselves for the cause. Those of New York pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour, (in the language and spirit of the Declaration of Independence,) to overthrow slavery by moral assault, or die in the attempt. The most remarkable accession of young men to the cause was, however, from Lane Seminary,

Cincinnati,—a Presbyterian college of high reputation, with the eminent Dr. Beecher to preside over it.

The students, most of whom were above one-and-twenty, and fifty of whom were above five-and-twenty years of age, discussed the abolition and colonization questions for eighteen evenings, and decided unanimously in favour of the former. The consequences of this decision no one will presume to calculate. Out of it has arisen the OBERLIN INSTITUTE, with the long train of benefits which have ensued, and will ensue, to freedom of thought, speech, and action, among the more privileged class of American citizens; to the education of the coloured race, in and out of the United States; and to the strengthening of the true principles of religion, in a community corrupted by the spirit of *caste*, and the passion for gain. The story is as follows. We give it partly in our own words, (for the sake of brevity) and partly in extracts from the "Statement of Reasons" put forth by the forty young men who withdrew from Lane Seminary, at this crisis of its principles and practice.

"The circumstances of our matriculation," they say, "were peculiarly impressive. We were connected with an institution freighted with the spiritual interests of the West. We were numerous, without a precedent in the beginnings of similar institutions. The Great Valley of the West was our expected field; and we assembled here that we might the more accurately learn its character, catch the spirit of its gigantic enterprise, grow up into its genius, appreciate its peculiar wants, and thus be qualified by practical skill, no less than by theological erudition, to wield the weapons of truth. But the responsibility of the post we providentially held, as the first class in a Theological Seminary, out-weighed all other considerations in our estimate of duty. The friends of the new institution expected of us that we should be letters of commendation to the Western churches, and that our scholarship, piety, and practical usefulness would be the earnest of its future success. Our probable influence over succeeding classes was also matter of deep solicitude." * * * * * We aimed, therefore, to make such a disposal of our influence as would contribute to place Lane Seminary upon high moral ground, and thus greatly elevate the standard and augment the resources of ministerial efficiency.

"As a primary step, we were led to adopt this principle, that *free discussion with correspondent effort is a Duty, and, of course, a Right*.

"We proceeded upon this principle without molestation, in our studies, and at our recitations and lectures.

"We applied it to missions, at home and abroad; and we acted immediately, through liberal contributions. We took up temperance. Discussion was needless; duty was plain, and we acted. With the Sunday School cause, we proceeded in like manner. Next moral reform came up. We examined it, in a series of adjourned meetings; light was elicited, principles were fixed, and action followed.

"With the same spirit of free enquiry, we discussed the question of slavery. We prayed much, heard facts, weighed arguments, kept our temper; and, after the most patient pondering, in which we were sustained by the spirit of sympathy, not of anger, we decided that slavery was a sin, and as such, ought to be immediately renounced. In this case, too, we acted."

A large number of these students were sons or brothers of slaveholders. Ohio borders on two slave states; and Lane Seminary looked for a large measure of its resources to that portion of American Society with which slavery was incorporated. Freely, therefore, as the students were permitted to act on every other moral question, this, of slavery, must be interdicted as dangerous. The Faculty forbade discussion and association on the question, from the moment the students began to employ their leisure hours in establishing Sunday schools, lyceums, and circulating libraries, among the free coloured population of Cincinnati, while the body of the trustees and professors were acting as partisans of the Colonization Society. While twenty-one out of the twenty-five of the trustees were members of the Colonization Society, and the president and his brother professors were making colonization speeches, which were circulated in the newspapers, they framed a set of laws repressive of speech and action on this subject among the students; and conferred an irresponsible power of expulsion on the executive committee. Though the new laws were aimed only at one subject, the students perceived that "they had driven the plough-share over the whole field of inquiry." There was no step left for the conscientious but to withdraw. They withdrew. Out of forty theological students, only two returned the next term: and of classical students, only five out of sixty. They withdrew, not with the tumult of spirits, and the head-strong self-will of unruly boys; but with the sobriety of thoughtful men, well aware of what they were doing; with the regrets of devoted students, forced away from the seat of learning, to do they knew not what, and go they knew not whither. They could not go home—those of them who came from slave states—for their lives would not have been safe. From the same circumstance of origin, their means were cut off. It is strange that the trustees and faculty of Lane Seminary did not foresee some of the consequences of their act. These young men went forth into the world with the highest characters. Dr. Beecher's (the president's) written words at this time were, "The students are a set of noble men, whom I would not, at a venture, exchange for any others." The faculty gave repeated assurances, up to the last moment, that the demeanour of the students was, without exception, respectful; and their conduct strictly lawful and orderly; and they granted certificates of the regular standing of each, on the withdrawal of the body. There had been no wrangling, no misunderstanding; and no censure could therefore attach to the character of the students. Their temper may be judged of by a passage of their farewell. "We leave Lane Seminary with sentiments of grateful affection for the advantages which, during our membership, it so largely afforded us; and, apart from the grief we feel in being obliged to withdraw from these advantages, our heart-felt sorrow is, that, in crushing the high and sacred principles of free inquiry, its ruling authorities have given a death-blow to the spirit of its glory, and have dragged it down to a dishonoured level with those institutions where mind becomes the cowering slave of prescription; institutions, in which the cries of liberty, prostrate and bleeding, and of truth, reviled and outlawed, are unheeded; but where all that fashion will countenance, and public favour applaud, and patronage support, and power defend, find ready admission, hearty welcome, and bountiful reward,—where siding with the strong against the weak, with the *doers* against the *sufferers* of wrong, is the stipulated condition of membership, and the sole passport to favour." Forty of them set about establishing a seminary where freedom of thought and speech might be secured, and whose doors should be open to students of all ranks, of every religious profession, and of

every shade of colour. Out of the tyranny of Lane Seminary thus arose the freedom of the Oberlin Institute. The three sons of the President of Lane are active abolitionists. Lane drags on, with its array of professors and paucity of students; while the Oberlin numbers between four and five hundred students, (of any colour that pleases heaven,) and would be yet far more thronged, if only its means were as noble as its principles.

About forty of the band repaired to the forest, and set to work to clear a tract of land in the north-east part of Ohio, thirty miles from Cleveland. They first raised for shelter a long rough house of *slabs*;—that is, of split logs, the bark remaining on the outer half. The floor, sides, roof, and partitions, were made of these slabs. This building exists in its primitive state; and we hope it will be allowed to stand as it is, as long as the worm, and wind, and weather permit. They toiled in the forest during the winter of 1834—5. They had no endowments, and little pecuniary help. The fame of their virtue spread. Learned and accomplished men, whose hearts were as cultivated as their intellects, volunteered for the honour of being the instructors of such disciples, repaired to Oberlin, flung off their coats, felled trees for some hours of the day, and delivered lectures for the rest. Young men and women flocked to this spot in the forest, to beg such instruction as should fit them to be teachers to the coloured people; and when told that there were no funds, and seeing that there was not accommodation for the increasing numbers, the unfailing reply was, “I will provide for myself, if you will let me stay.” Building went on rapidly; a substantial building with brick, containing ninety-two rooms, besides the barns and wooden dwellings, which were the first work of their hands. A practical farmer superintended the labour of the young men. The young women, whose number is about one-fourth of the whole, keep the house, the dairy, and the clothes, and have yet found time to learn whatever fits them to be school teachers in their turn; and some are sound Greek and Hebrew scholars.

The three hours manual labour per day, which is the rule of the institution, is supposed to be the chief cause of the excellent state of health maintained among its members—a state of health very unusual in a fresh forest clearing. The members themselves believe that their abstemious mode of living is also largely concerned in this effect. When the concourse of numbers, and the pressure of poverty became great, the members including the professors and their families) gave up first meat, (fermented liquors having been excluded from the beginning) and then coffee and tea. They live on the corn, garden vegetables, and milk, provided by their own labour; and they not only live, but thrive. When they have not money wherewith to buy new clothes, the best coats are lent about to those whose turn it is to go forth on excursions of business.

One student, Randall by name, laid down for their use all the money he had in the world, 2,500 dollars, and goes without as long as the institution is pressed. A farmer, at a great distance, was touched with the story of the founders of Oberlin, and drove over a cow—the only gift he could bestow. A farmer who lived eleven miles off in a good house, Jabez Burrell by name, invited the new comers, who could not be accommodated at Oberlin, to take up their abode with him. He boarded and lodged seventy for a year and a-half. His wife, worn out with the charge of such a household in so wild a region, fell a sacrifice. She died exhausted, but with perfect willingness. She went into the affair heart and hand with her husband, and preferred being worn out in such a cause to drawing back from it. Another settler, named John Holcomb, resident twenty-five miles from Oberlin, took in thirty students, with their professor, in the same manner, and for the same time. Other neighbours have given whatever they could,—money, time, labour of head and hands. Severely as the Oberlin has suffered from the pressure of the times, it seems as if it must be safe in the guardianship of its own principles, and of the faith and love of all who come within influence.

The President of Oberlin went to Boston on the business of the institution, at a time when the pressure on its resources was great, and its prospects very dark. He was offered a salary of 2000 dollars a year, if he would remain to minister in connexion with the Hall for Free Inquiry, lately erected in Boston. As a neighbour said, “they might as well have asked one of our old oaks to come up by the roots, and fix itself at Boston.” He had no other thought than of going back to his chair and his plough; and there he is.

There is one vacation in the year at Oberlin; and during these three months the members are as hard at work as during any other season. They disperse themselves over the land, to discover where they are most wanted, and what new work is turning up for their hands to do. Whenever they go, the oppressed lift up their heads, and freedom smiles. They are the guardians of civil and religious liberty; and where they are seen, the despised and heart wounded people of colour feel as if suddenly camped about with angels. Some teach; some preach; some put the disheartened in the way of helping each other, and becoming strong by union: others organize schools, or establish anti-slavery libraries. Some repair to the West Indies, as teachers of our brethren of colour there. Others go among the same race in Canada, lifting up the intellect of the poor fugitives into a fitness for the state of freedom they have attained; or awaiting on the safe shore of the Canadian lakes and rivers the landing of the escaped slave, recording on the spot the facts of his wrongs, and sanctifying and directing into practice his first emotions on becoming free. At the end of the annual vacation, such students as can be spared from their new labours return to Oberlin. Those who can find no substitute, and cannot conscientiously quit their charge, defer their return till they can be relieved. All the members are free to go and come as they think right; and it does not appear that their studies suffer from this freedom. It might be anticipated that the vigour of principle on which they act, would do more for their intellects and mental habits than any rules and methods which serve a good purpose in ordinary cases; but there is positive testimony to the same effect. Judge Lane (Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio) conceiving it to be his duty to make himself acquainted with public educational institutions in his State, visited and examined the Oberlin, and gave it as the result of his investigation, that he had never known the same amount of mind more substantially and happily improved in the same space of time.

THE CAPTURED AFRICANS.—The decision of Judge Judson in this case is appealed against on behalf of the United States government. He is considered to have proceeded on an erroneous view of the law.

STATE OF JAMAICA.

We are happy in being able to lay before our readers the following general view of this important island, as given by Mr. Grant, one of the stipendiary justices, in his reports of the 13th of June, and the 17th of July last. They are taken from the papers just laid before parliament, and stand out with some pre-eminence from other documents of the same class, by reason of the eulogy passed upon them in a subsequent despatch of the noble secretary for the colonies. On the 9th of September, Lord John Russell thus writes to Sir Charles Metcalfe:—“The report, dated 10th June, of Mr. Grant, the magistrate for Manchester and Clarendon, is very clearly drawn up, and contains information well deserving of attention. The same gentleman’s subsequent report of 17th July is also interesting.” These clear and interesting reports are as follows:—

Manchester, June 10th, 1840.

To prove that the negro knows the value of his time, and that he is anxious to make the most of it, I refer to the frequent proofs I have given of the extraordinary quantity of labour performed by individuals in a day, and state that those instances are still of very frequent occurrence.

I often hear persons complain that they are not at work several days in the week, and at the same time declare that this is not at all injurious to their properties, as they complete their jobs rapidly when they are at work.

When a planter cannot complain of the people on his own property, he must complain of the people on his neighbour’s. In answer to a question whether he is doing well, he will reply, ‘Why, I am doing very well; I cannot complain; but Mr. Such-a-one is doing very badly; very badly indeed; and I am afraid, if there is not a reaction, and that very soon, we shall all be ruined.’ Go to the Mr. Such-a-one, and he is very likely to tell you that he is doing pretty well, but that his neighbour is not doing so well. Thus it is, every man minds his neighbour’s business more than his own; and so long as this system of interference with each other is pursued, so long will the real state of the country be misrepresented.

Among the misrepresentations are many which are stamped with their own refutation. Amidst a zeal to alarm the Government and the English people, persons are sometimes led beyond the bounds of prudence. Of this nature is one of Mr. Burge’s late despatches to the Colonial Secretary, in which he states that there was a total cessation of labour, although fair wages had been offered, while, in the same paragraph he asserts that the proprietors had been impressed with the truth of the assertion by the vast amount of bills drawn since the 1st of August; as if the bills could have been for anything but labour already performed and paid for.

I have remarked that the persons who are loudest in proclaiming the deplorable state of the country, are the very persons who grasp more firmly the property they have in it, and, if they have the means, are most willing to purchase more. This may be honest. They may be doing this without any sinister motive. I know one of them who purchased a property about three years ago. He was lately offered nearly treble the amount he gave for it. Did he take it? No; but in the same breath he would assert that the country was ruined.

In Clarendon, matters are going on pretty well, but there are some of the properties in the mountains of that parish on which the manufacture of sugar cannot be carried on with profit adequate to the outlay of money and trouble attendant on the cultivation, and on the difficulties and expenses of the embarguador. It is well known that, during slavery and apprenticeship, the debts due on many properties mortgaged to English merchants accumulated annually. This, although detrimental to the interest of the proprietor, was not so to the merchant. It secured to him, at an annual loss to the proprietor, freight for his ships, interest for his money, commissions for his trouble, and the monopoly of the estate’s supplies. It was, therefore, the interest of the merchant to keep up the cultivation of poor and badly situated properties, though they were profitless in every respect to the absent proprietor. Now, I fancy, matters will be different. The debts of the proprietor, instead of having diminished on their first amount, having accumulated to a greater sum than the estate is worth, the property will likely be sold, and another staple resorted to, maintaining a proper relation between expenditure and profit.

We will suppose that there is one-fourth less of the population at work in producing and manufacturing the staple productions, than under the slavery or apprenticeship systems. It is well known that, to prove the impossibility of successful agriculture, persons pointed to the diminution of field labourers immediately subsequent to the 1st of August. A sufficient period of time has elapsed since the termination of the apprenticeship to prove the fallacy of such opinion or assertion. In the first place, no comparison can be drawn between the exertions of a slave and a free man, between compulsory and voluntary labour. It has happily been even already shown that the great stimulus to exertion is self-interest, that money is found to be a far more powerful excitement to industry than any which has yet been had recourse to. If it is therefore proved that the result of the money stimulus has been extra exertion, it necessarily follows that fewer persons are required to carry on, under the voluntary system, cultivation to the same extent as that carried on under the compulsory.

I have said that the fact has been proved. I refer to the state of this parish, and the new coffee lands fallen and planted. This will prove, too, that the planters do not consider the wages to be too high, for it cannot be supposed that addition would be made to previous cultivation, if it could not be done at such a rate as to ensure to the persons interested, if not profit at all events indemnification from any loss.

I believe, that, in communication to the island agent, through the commissioners of correspondence, the progress of agriculture, and the present and future anticipated condition of the country, has been tested by the number of persons actually engaged in agricultural labour since the 1st of August. This might, I allow, have been done with a conscientious intention to show the actual existing state of affairs. But I may be allowed to ask, whether it is fair, whether it is honest, to take the weekly average of persons at work from the 1st day of August to the date on which the return was made up, and only to insert in this average list the persons at work who were formerly attached to the property, leaving out strangers, and to compare this with the weekly average return of persons at work

during the whole term of the apprenticeship, including *jobbers from other properties*, weakly and ineffective labourers, such as *diseased persons, pregnant women, and children*?

I know a property where this return was called for, and will show what it was likely to be. Out of 70 or 80 apprentices, about 10 or 12 efficient persons only remained under the free system. Jobbers had always been employed during the apprenticeship, with the resident work-people; the weekly average number of labourers at work during that term, we may suppose to have been at least 200. When under the free system, perhaps, as the average was taken from the first day on which the people were free agents, and was reduced by dividing the number employed by the number of weeks in the interval between the requirements of labour, and only included persons who were the former slaves or apprentices of the plantation, it would not exhibit more than 20 or 25 in each week at work.

Mr. Burge called for 'facts.' This would be a fact. 'During the term of apprenticeship I had, on an average, 200 labourers each week. Since the commencement of the free labour system, on an average, only 20 or 25 of my people have been at work.' It is, of course, quite unnecessary to mention that the property is in better order than it ever had been during the apprenticeship, and that this was done by labourers from other properties, who had completed the work on their own plantations. 'Facts' were required, but it was unnecessary to mention this.

At Green Vale, a similar return could very likely have been made out, had the gentleman in charge of that property been desirous to show one fact and suppress another, and that the only one of importance, the fact of the property's being in good or bad order. It will be observed in the letter which I annex from the overseer, number 2, that, in regard to the cultivation of the property, he says, 'I am very happy to inform you that the property is in very fine order at present, and has been so since the apprenticeship system ceased; but in reference to the general conduct of the peasantry resident on the property, he says, 'I am very sorry to say that very little work has been done by them; it is mostly done by strangers.' This is an error to which I have previously alluded.

I have no doubt, in furnishing the island agent, through the Commissioners of Correspondence, with 'facts,' the Manchester gentlemen who undertook that responsible task have communicated the important and pleasing intelligence that, in the first year of freedom, 1,200, tierces of coffee were shipped in Alligator Pond over the number shipped in the last year of slavery; i. e., 2,100 were shipped in 1833, and 3,300 in 1839.

In regard to the question of rent, I beg to be permitted to observe, that the people have no idea that they are to have their houses and grounds rent free. There may be a few instances of a disinclination to pay, but not from any idea that the houses and grounds are their own. His excellency may remember the rent-toll for the first quarter, appended to my despatch for the month of January; and on 'Hermitage,' a property belonging to Dr. Porter, and under the management of Mr. Davy, the first quarter's rent became due on the 1st of February, and was immediately arranged for. On the 1st of May, the day on which the second quarter's rent became due, the people walked up in a body, and arranged their different debts. But the most interesting fact with which I have become acquainted, and one which proves that not even the *disabled* believe themselves to be exempt from this tax on their resources, is the following:—The first quarter's rent became due to the proprietor of a property, on which were resident two men with very sore legs, and one man with only one hand. They went to consult the overseer, and inquired in what manner they could earn sufficient means to settle their rents. The overseer told them they could break stones for the public roads, for which he would pay them 4*d.* sterling per barrel. They agreed, commenced, have continued since at the same labour, paid their rent, and have besides, earned sufficient profits for the means of existence.

There is a system adopted by some persons in charge of properties of charging what the negroes call "head money;" i. e. every one resident on a property above twelve years of age is compelled to pay so much per week. For instance, if the father of a family happens to be in possession of one house and one ground, himself, his wife, and each of his children are required to pay the "head money." The people are, of course, perfectly willing to pay the annual, quarterly, monthly, or weekly real value; but this is not sufficient. The "head money," as they term it, must be exacted. I fancy a Scotchman or an Englishman would be a little discontented had he to pay rent, not having reference to the value of his house and garden, but to the number of children with which he might happen to be burthened.

At Grove Place, one of the largest properties in the parish, where the "head money" is rigorously exacted, (although the receiver was urged to allow them to pay according to the value of their houses and grounds,) some of the ablest of the people were working on an adjoining property lately, and said that they could not afford to work on the property on which they resided, as "head money" was charged; and that they were compelled to go oftener to their grounds to make them worth the money. Thus are the plantations deprived of labour, the proprietors' land destroyed, and thus is the labourer induced to employ his time in an occupation which does not, I am confident, fairly remunerate him.

I observe a great desire among the negroes to purchase land, which they have been enabled to effect at about six pounds per acre. Several hundred acres have been sold at Poros Savannah, on the border of Clarendon. A number of houses have been built there since the 1st of August; and the population of the village must already exceed 1000. It is daily extending, and the population increasing; and, as it is likely to be of importance to the parish, I will, at some future period, give a more particular account of it.

I am happy to say that the "head-money" system, to which I have alluded, is giving way to more just arrangement, and I trust will speedily be abolished. There is in existence another practice which I conceive to be highly impolitic; that of resorting to a system of mixed incidents in the terms of labour, by charging rent to persons that do not work, and by exempting others that do work, on the property. Among the evils which such a plan must generate is this: it operates as a distinction of favour and disfavour; and, as paying rent is always associated with some misunderstanding, which has led the labourer to seek his market for work off the property in consequence of employment being refused him on his own plantation, it fixes a stamp of disgrace on the individual who, among a number of exempted persons, is called upon to pay rent. It is not the

injustice, but the invidiousness and impolicy of the system which is reprehensible.

I fear I have already trespassed on his excellency's valuable time; but I cannot close this communication without adverting to the cry raised at present in reference to fire-arms. That there is any proof of a mischievous intention on the part of the peasantry in their desire to possess guns I utterly deny.

People who contemplate wrong generally conceal their means of effecting it. The negro carries his gun in open day. But were there ground to fear, the absence of law would render interference unavailing: and attacks on official character can only bring about a publication of their inability legally to interfere, and must tend rather to encourage than check the evil, if it be an evil.

In such a change as has been effected in this country, amidst the difficulties and doubts which must still arise on many points, we had a right to expect that those who are interested in property should have adopted a manly and courageous course. The avidity and timidity with which the unfounded report of resistance to constables, another (I believe) equally unfounded report of a threat to kill certain individuals in this parish, of which statements have already been forwarded to his excellency, will, I fear, be accepted in future days as full proofs that those who ought to have laboured most zealously and bravely in the establishment of freedom, have not been true to their own interests.

I have, &c.,

(Signed)

J. W. GRANT,
Stipendiary magistrate for the parishes
of Manchester and Clarendon.

Manchester, 17th July, 1839.

The parish is in a state of perfect tranquillity—and every day is developed some new proof of the superiority of free labour and unrestricted competition.

Too much has been expected by persons interested in Jamaica property, in the first year of freedom. I am aware this was not the case at first; but when many things were accomplished which they did not, and could hardly have expected, they fancy they have a right to look for as much more than has been accomplished, as what has been accomplished exceeded their first expectations. While I say this, I should be unjust, did I not state that, however few, there are exceptions. I have been favoured with the perusal of a letter from a most respectable proprietor in England to his attorney in this island, whose permission I have to insert in this report the following extract: "Your letter of the 16th February last I duly received, and can hardly express how much pleasure and satisfaction it afforded. To find that our affairs were going on well, after the unsavourable accounts we saw in the newspapers, and heard from private sources, was really more than I expected; and to find from one so well qualified as yourself of judging how the new system would work, that you did not disapprove of it, but, on the contrary, thought it would work well, was truly gratifying; and I am quite sure, if the negroes will work industriously, and do *their* part, it is the duty of all the proprietors to do *theirs*, for I have no notion that every benefit, and all the wealth of the West Indies, is to be drawn from thence without a corresponding return, and I for one would never join in such measures. I therefore hope you will do for me whatever your sense of justice and liberality requires, to instruct them in religion, virtue, and industry: for I am well assured all this will be required at our hands by that Almighty Being who is the author and giver of all good things."

The language of the writer speaks so much for the benevolence of his heart, that any comment on it from me is unnecessary, and would, I think, be uncalled for. I will merely remark, that, if there were many more proprietors possessed of the same feelings in reference to the great work in progress, matters would be very different to what they are at present in this island.

It is only to be hoped such daily accessions will be made to the thin numbers of the supporters of an enlightened and true system, that the day is near at hand when *all* parties will acknowledge the truth, that the successful cultivation and highest prosperity of the island must be preceded by the establishment of true and unrestricted freedom.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. W. GRANT, Stipendiary Justice.

Richard Hill, Esq.

DINNER OF THE FRENCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THE DEPUTATION FROM THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A dinner was given at Paris on the 10th, by the principal members of the French Anti-Slavery Society, to Messrs. Scoble, Alexander, and Whitehorn, the delegates of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Amongst the distinguished persons present, were M. Odillon Barrot, Count d'Harcourt, Peer of France; Messrs. Delamartine, Count Charles de Remusat, de Sade, George Lafayette, Baron Roger, de Corcelles, de Beaumont, the Marquis de Tracy, de Tocqueville, Isambert, and Saint Antoine. More than two-thirds of the company were members of the Chamber of Deputies.

Over the head of M. Odillon Barrot, who presided, was a flag bearing the names of Wilberforce, Clarkson, and Macaulay.

M. Odillon Barrot made a very eloquent speech—I give you one of the principal passages. Addressing the English delegates he said— "Gentlemen, I am most happy to see you here as the representatives of a country which first advocated the great cause of emancipation. France, gentlemen, will follow your example in a cause which combines justice and interest with humanity. May the alliance between France and England be imperishable."

M. Lamartine, president of the society for the abolition of slavery, in his speech, said, "every one has been calumniated in this cause—the English, the colonists, the slaves, and ourselves. England has been unworthily calumniated. Have we not heard it a hundred times repeated that all the efforts of England in favour of Negro emancipation, and the twenty millions which she gave for that purpose, were mere selfish speculation, to get rid of colonies of her own that she did not care for, and so ruin our colonies that she envied? [Chateaubriand was one of the utterers

of this stupid calumny.] Generous spirits of Wilberforce, and Pitt, and Fox, and Canning, whose names I see inscribed on the flags which adorn this *fête*, you little thought, when you were plotting this sacred conspiracy, and extending your humane agitation through your own country and through Europe—you little thought it would be said that you were merely labouring to get some millions of English massacred by their slaves, in order to consume three or four petty French colonies in a general conflagration. Pardon should be asked of God and time for such monstrous calumnies. What now do we press for? Emancipation and indemnity—indemnity which all parties interested must be taxed to pay—that is, the state, the colonists, and the slaves themselves. This is a question of even more than the abolition of slavery, it is one of union between France and England, and of that European fraternity of which we are all missionaries. A mean and jealous policy, which would allow no place in the world to others than ourselves—a policy inspired by old national antipathies, in vain endeavours to separate England and France—two countries, which, together, form the pedestal of the rights of the human race. The liberty of the world stands with one foot on the soil of Britain, the other on the land of France. If the countries separate, liberty falls once more to the ground in an ocean of blood. But it is impossible. This meeting is a proof that the sentiments of the two countries meet in a sphere of ideas above those of vulgar rivalry, comprehending their common mission of liberty and civilization. They are united in that sympathy and intelligence which God alone can inspire. Are not ideas and sympathies the first and highest of interests? The great men and the generous feelings of the two nations will keep them united, in despite of the rivalry of cabinets and vulgar interests."

Mr. Scoble, in acknowledging the honour which the distinguished company had conferred on the deputation, took occasion to observe, that, whatever might ultimately be decided by the Chambers on the subject of the indemnity, he trusted the Negroes would never be compelled to pay for their freedom, either in whole or in part; as it would be inhuman, unjust, and contrary to the honour and dignity of France for one moment to entertain such a proposition. In reference to the proposed apprenticeship, which has been deemed necessary to prepare the Negroes for freedom, Mr. Scoble said, they dared not place the right of the slave to liberty on any other ground than the constitution of man's nature, which unfitted him for any other state than that of freedom—on the eternal principles of justice which rendered his liberty inviolable and indefeasible, and on the divine law which denounced every form of oppression and wrong, and which forbade us to do evil that good might come. He earnestly intreated the friends of the Negroes whom he had the honour to address, to pause before they recognized the doctrine of a right of property in man by giving compensation to the slave holder, and steadfastly to resist every measure which had for its basis an apprenticeship. Mr. Scoble cordially reciprocated the noble and generous sentiments which had been uttered, and trusted, that the union of two such great empires such as England and France would advance the civilization, the happiness, and the liberty of the world.

SCHEME OF THE JAMAICA ASSEMBLY FOR GETTING RID OF THE STIPENDIARY MAGISTRACY.

(From the *St. Jago Gazette*.)

Of the numerous absurd and unjust schemes which, to the injury and agitation of the community, have been proposed and entertained since the abolition of slavery on the memorable 1st of August, 1834, that of the substitution of six lawyers for the present stipendiary magistracy is, *par excellence*, at once the most absurd and the most unjust. The cause of humanity, the British government, the negro population, the very planters themselves owe a heavy debt of gratitude to these gentlemen. To their exertions, to their patience, and to their straightforward course, through good and evil report, are to be attributed the present orderly conduct of the labouring population, and the rapidly improving prospects of the island. To remove these functionaries altogether, would be an experiment fraught with danger, to replace them by others would be an act of gross injustice. Neither one, nor the other, we are persuaded, is seriously contemplated, or will be permitted by the British government. In the paid magistracy alone, have the labouring population any confidence. To them do they carry all their grievances, and refer all their complaints, in every district in the island. Their discontent and dissatisfaction is apparent when they are absent from the bench. We are no alarmists, but we do not hesitate to say, that the removal of the present stipendiary body would be regarded by the negroes as the withdrawal by the home government of its protection from them. Distrust, dissatisfaction, and ill-feeling, would immediately succeed to the implicit confidence and entire good will which they now entertain towards the British authorities.

Her Majesty's government is well aware that the present legislature of Jamaica is identical with that which existed during slavery, almost the same men returned by the same constituency, the very body, in fact, which resisted the emancipation of the slave with such uncompromising pertinacity, the members of the famous Colonial Union, the opponents successively of Lord Mulgrave, Lord Sligo, and Sir Lionel Smith.—That they should be true to the creed they have all along professed, that they should maintain that, in all disputes between employer and labourer, the late master and the late slave, the sole power of adjudication may be safely left in the hands of the former, that is of themselves, is certainly not a matter for wonder; but that the British government should, with ordinary knowledge of mankind, and after the experience, as regards these men in particular, of the last six years, have become converts to the same opinion, requires faith of no ordinary dimensions. *Credat judæus apella*. They have too much regard for the prosperity of the island, and its profitable connexion with the mother country. The experiment, we contend, is much too rash to be attempted.

It is a great mistake to suppose that a general dislike is entertained to the stipendiary magistracy. The whole body of the labouring population, and nine-tenths of the other classes, have full confidence in them. Let the peaceable and orderly disposition and conduct of the lately emancipated peasantry in the absence of a police force, during a whole year, bear testimony to their influence. By labouring assiduously to instruct the new freemen in the nature of their duties, as well as in the extent of their rights, they have succeeded in teaching them to rely solely on the law and, when injured or deceived, to forego all thoughts of seeking redress from any other source.

If the duties of the stipendiary magistracy are invidious and obnoxious, will those of their substitutes be less so? If the former have incurred the dislike of the late slave owner in the execution of the laws, which they have administered with so much success, who will ensure the honesty and probity of the latter from a similar return?

Can the services of the special magistrates be so soon forgotten? The thirty deaths, and almost as many resignations in the course of three years. How many parents are now mourning for their children? How many desolate widows, and destitute orphans have these premature deaths thrown on the wide world? Are the repeated thanks of the two late governors, nay, of the British government itself, to be considered of no weight in their favour?

Are the proposed barristers and attorneys-at-law, the latter carefully excluded by the practice of Great Britain even from a seat on the bench in ordinary cases, likely to be purer and more incorrupt in Jamaica, than any other class of the community? Are they likely to be better acquainted with the character of the people, the peculiar relations of the island, or even with the common routine of their duty than men, some of whom have had the benefit of six years of experience? How, moreover, are these six lawyers to get through their multifold duties? They are, as has been remarked in another paper, it seems, to be chairmen of quarter sessions, of which there are throughout the island, seventy-two in the course of the year. The same six are to assist at all petty sessions of the peace, of which there are at least twelve, or two to each lawyer, held every day in the year that is not a holiday. Not to dwell on the fact that the whole of their time would necessarily be spent in the mere travelling, thirty miles often intervening between one place of session and the other. *Ohe jam satis est!*

LIBERATED AFRICANS IN DOMINICA.

London, 24th January, 1840.

My dear Sir,—Agreeably to my promise, whilst lately in Birmingham, I now forward you an account of the particulars, so far as they have come within my personal knowledge and observation, relating to the introduction, the disposal, general treatment, and conduct of certain natives of Africa in the island of Dominica, the place of my residence.

In the month of April, 1837, the Portuguese brig *Don Francisco*, was captured off Dominica by her Majesty's armed brigantine *Griffon*, Captain D'Urban, having on board 433 Africans embarked at Widah. The slaver being deemed, and on close inspection proving, not in a condition to proceed further, was brought to, and moored in the Bay of Roseau, our capital town, where the unfortunate captives were disembarked, and placed under the care and protection of S. Bridgewater, Esq., collector of the customs of the island.

I went on board of the slaver before the people were disembarked, and the scene that presented itself was one of unmitigated horror, enhanced, if possible, by the contrast afforded between the ghastly appearance and naked bodies of the children of Africa on the crowded deck, and the healthy and well clad appearance of the descendants, and probably some natives of the same unhappy region, congregated a few yards off on the beach. It was consolatory, however, to reflect, that those unhappy beings were now under the safeguard of the British flag.

A large public building being prepared for their reception, the Africans were landed, and it was pleasing to witness the alacrity with which the lower orders of the inhabitants flocked and pressed to the boats as they successively touched the shore, with trowsers, gowns, chemises, pieces of cloth, &c., for the poor wretches to cover themselves with.

After the lapse of a few days, during which every attention was paid to their comfort, the collector announced that he would receive applications with a view to their distribution among the respectable inhabitants. Applications poured in for a number treble that of the Africans: the collector judiciously consulted his own knowledge of the parties, and their circumstances in life.

The commandant of the garrison forces had the first choice of the men, destined to recruit the West India regiment. The nature and circumstances of a soldier's life and those of the agricultural labourer were explained to them through an interpreter, and such as preferred to be soldiers were shortly after sent to Trinidad: these were between 90 and 100.

The bulk of the remainder were distributed among the proprietors, chiefly of sugar estates, whilst the balance, consisting principally of the young females, was allotted to respectable families and the shopkeepers of the town. It is worthy of remark, that the females, when they came to understand the sort of labour destined for them, strongly and unanimously objected to be sent to the plantations, protesting that in their country women did not till the soil, giving help only in harvest time: the men confirmed this statement, and indeed it was with some difficulty, when located on the estates, that these females could be induced to change their former habits. I am happy to say, however, that no measures of severity were resorted to on this score—the example of our own female labourers and the mild persuasion of the masters, soon overcoming the difficulty.

It is perhaps the most remarkable feature in the history of the whole transaction, that this distribution took place, and remained unmolested long after, without either of the parties, the master or the African, knowing the precise terms on which their connexion rested, beyond the engagement of the one to afford the necessities of life, and a half-understood promise on the other part to require this with manual labour. How long this was to continue, any more than the exact quantum of these necessities of life, or the extent of duties on the part of the servant, was not settled. It was understood, however, that a correspondence was on foot between the administrator of the local government and the Governor-in-chief, Sir William Colebrooke, having for object the settlement of the relative duties and obligations of the parties. The planters and others to whom the Africans were distributed were, in general, favourable to an apprenticeship for some years, and many months elapsed before it came to be definitely known that the government would not consent to any such apprenticeship. So far as I can recollect, no formal communication was made to those having these Africans, or to the Africans themselves, that the parties were thus in a position which enabled them to separate at pleasure their connexion. I should therefore say that the Africans as a body, considered themselves up to the 1st of August, 1838, the period of the abolition of the general apprenticeship, under some undefined restraint, arising probably from the

official character of the distribution, although I would not attribute to this feeling the permanency of their location on the several estates to which they were sent in the first instance, but rather to the stronger and better motive of a cheerful contentment under the influence of kindly treatment, to the general exercise of which I am happy to bear testimony. During this sort of probation, Sir William Colebrooke kept a watchful and constant eye over their treatment.

On the estates, the plan adopted in general, was to distribute the new-comers among the married and best conducted families of the labourers: these were quite glad to receive them, and became their godfathers and godmothers, making it their first and especial care to teach their protégés the catechism and the Lord's prayer. The weekly alimentary allowances were handed to these sponsors.

The Africans soon became acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the fellow-labourers that surrounded them, and looked forward to the approaching period of general freedom with almost as much anxiety as the apprenticed labourers, calculating it as the period, not so much of their own liberation, as one that was to bring them *wages* instead of *allowances*. Accordingly, on the 1st August, 1838, after remaining in this non-descript condition for fifteen months, by common consent on both sides, they continued on their several settlements, working on wages as the other labourers of the island, with a clear understanding that they could leave when they pleased.

I come now to the conduct and general deportment of these people. This is a point on which all parties in the island are agreed: they have been peaceable, obedient, industrious. We had six on our estate—one died a few days after location of the small-pox—the remaining five are still there, and *no fault whatever* has ever been found with any of them. Up to April, 1839, the period of my temporary departure from the island, two years, therefore, since their introduction into the island, there had been precisely *one* case of criminal prosecution against one of these Africans, for assault, and I never heard of any offences on their part becoming the subject of magisterial punishment. For the first twelvemonths, the deaths among them, according to a return officially prepared, were, so far as my memory serves me, *five*.

Their intelligence, acuteness, and aptitude, in acquiring the languages, current in the island, form another topic worthy of remark. In the course of a couple of weeks, the little girls (generally about twelve years), placed with the shopkeepers of the town, were seen going about with a variety of articles on sale. Taking peculiar interest in the progress of their civilization, I made inquiries on all sides, and understood that they acquitted themselves so well and so honestly of the task, with which they themselves were quite delighted that they were preferred for this sort of employment to the little natives. I can state positively, than in less than three months, all those domiciled in towns, could speak the creole French, or English currently, and without any embarrassment, as they happened to be with French or English families; very many spoke both with equal fluency, within six months. Here I will mention what a magistrate of the island declared. This gentleman, although settled in the island some twelve years, could neither speak nor understand the creole French. He had in his family one of these girls, about thirteen years, who, in the course of some six or eight months, would interpret to him in English the statements of persons lodging complaints as conveyed in the creole French.

Upon the whole, then, these Africans comprise a body of peaceable subjects, and contented and industrious labourers, forming a valuable accession to the manual strength of our labouring population, still meagre as compared with our cultivable surface, I do not think there is an instance of any of them having abandoned agricultural pursuits for domestic avocations.

What a contrast between such a condition and the miserable fate that awaited them a few hundred miles north-west of Dominica.

Yours truly,
To JOSEPH STURGE, Esq.

JOSEPH FADELLE.

WEST INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

BRITISH GUIANA.—The purchasing of estates by emancipated labourers goes on rapidly. The *Royal Gazette* contains a petition from sixty-three persons of this class, who have jointly purchased an estate of 500 acres, called North Brook, for the sum of 10,000 dollars or £2000. sterling—something more than £30. each, and all saved since emancipation. The object of their petition is that Governor Light will intercede with her Majesty, that the new owners may call the estate Victoria. They ask also for the help of the crown surveyor, to prevent all disputes in dividing land into equal allotments, on which they say they mean to build cottages, and they promise to work on estates as before. They will be freeholders of about nine acres each.

Mr. EDWARD CARBERY had been appointed immigration agent for Demerara, at a public meeting in Georgetown. He had reported very favourably of the prospects of obtaining a supply of labour from the United States. Writing from Baltimore, Mr. Carbery says—

"Had I authority to charter a vessel, I could get her filled immediately. I have since understood, that the expence of feeding these people during the voyage to Demerara would not exceed five or six dollars. My pamphlet is printed, and will be distributed to-morrow at the different meeting-houses. I have met the principal people, &c. here; and they are ready to afford their co-operation, being convinced that the condition of those who go will be improved.

"I am informed that about 10,000 of the free coloured population of Baltimore are agriculturists, who obtain partial employment in the spring and summer, but are very destitute during the winter; those who have trades are also badly off, for white mechanics will not work with them. My informant, a highly respectable coloured man, thinks that emigration would be a great boon to these people, and that they would gladly avail themselves of it, not only in the city, but generally through the State. Extensive emigration to the West Indies would meet with warm support from the Southern slave-holder, because it would tend to enhance the value of slaves, by withdrawing the cheapest description of labour from the market, and because he considers the presence of a free coloured population not likely to increase the contentment, the industry, or the subordination of his slaves. Judging from the information I have received,

from my own observation, and the effect of Mr. Burnley's pamphlet, I think great numbers of these people will emigrate to Trinidad, and to British Guiana also, if similar encouragement be given. The disallowance of the Emigration Bill puts it out of my power to run the risk of chartering vessels, without I have authority so to do; yet so impressed am I with the conviction that great numbers of tradesmen and labouring people can be obtained from this country, that I shall put myself into communication with the coloured classes at New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, and endeavour to prevent their attention being solely occupied by the statements of Mr. Burnley. I deeply regret I am not in a position to charter a vessel at once, and send her to Demerara, with emigrants on colonial account; this would at once direct the attention of these people exclusively to us, and prevent their thoughts being engrossed as they at present are, by Trinidad."

By the last arrivals from British Guiana, we learn that upwards of two thousand pounds have been subscribed by the planters, to enable Mr. Carbery to carry his project into effect, and that the sum was likely to be considerably increased.

The *Berbice Advertiser* of the 2nd of December speaks in the following terms of the crops in desolate (!) Guiana:—

"The crops we understand, are very fine in this district. The coffee trees are covered with an abundance far more than can ever be gathered in, although we hear that the people are working very well, generally, indeed. The inducement to labour is very great, when the wages given are so high, and particularly so on a coffee plantation. We understand from very good authority, that it is no unusual thing for an active man and his wife to pick four and five baskets of coffee a day, and in some cases their children pick two or three, according to their number and strength, which, at a guilder a basket, is equal to ten or eleven shillings a day, and this with no more effort than thousands of families in England have to make to earn three shillings per day. These are truths worthy of consideration with persons desirous of immigrating to our shores."

We hear that one very large estate near town will make more sugar this year than was made in the last year of slavery. So much for rain! We understand also, that another large estate near town, on which they used to make ten hogsheads of sugar in five days in the time of slavery, is now, in the same time, making twenty hogsheads of sugar. We are not aware that there have been any additional labourers on this estate since the period of freedom; but we hear that the secret of it is, that the comforts of the people as labourers are studied by their employers, whose highest policy it is to do so, as the aforementioned fact fully shows, which certainly speaks much for the working of the free system, as it shows what it might do if it were properly carried out."

TRINIDAD.—The *Trinidad Standard* mentions, that several fresh arrivals of immigrants had taken place, both from Europe and the United States; and that the arrivals within the year were calculated at two thousand pounds. The same paper tells us, that some of the early immigrants from the United States have performed three tasks per day; from which the editor triumphantly draws the "important inference of the superiority of free over slave labour!" He thus proceeds:—"A willing and able free man has here performed three times the quantity of labour formerly extracted from the unwilling slave. Need we a more sufficient proof of the ultimate superiority of the new system—of the immeasurable advantage of the *argumentum ad pecuniam*, over the *argumentum a rostris!*?" To think that the Trinidadians are at last converted to this doctrine!

Intelligence had been received in Trinidad, that the immigration ordinance passed by the legislature of that island had been allowed, with some alteration, by Lord John Russell. The *Trinidad Standard* of December 17th, mentions the fact in these terms—

"We are most happy to be able to state that our immigration ordinance has been confirmed: a royal order in council has been received here, embodying our island law, with the addition of some further provisos, quite compatible with the effective working of the ordinance. We trust that this order, or at any rate the despatch accompanying it, will be made public without further delay. The planters of these colonies have so little, generally speaking, to thank the colonial office for, that the local government act, not only ungraciously, but impolitely, in letting slip such a rare occasion of exciting the gratitude of the inhabitants of this island, as the early and authoritative communication of the acquiescence of her Majesty's advisers in a measure so popular throughout the community would have afforded them. Good news ought not to be doled out by instalments."

The following statement of the exports from this colony, from 1st Jan. 1839 to 15th November (ult.), has been kindly handed us, and may be relied on as correct. Comparing the number of pounds of sugar shipped up to the 15th ult. with that shipped during the entire year 1838, there is only a deficiency of 1,062,384 lbs., equal to (at 1400 lbs. nett per hogshead) to 785 hogsheads. There is more than this quantity of sugar afloat in the harbour, which will be cleared out before the 31st instant; the crop of 1839 will therefore fully equal that of 1838. We have the further gratification to point out that the revenue on sugar already equals that of last year:—£318,289 sterl. was the value on which the 3½ per cent. was paid last year; and from the higher rate of the tariff this crop, the value of sugar exported already stands at £321,512—the duties on the 700 or 800 hogsheads remaining of this year's crop will, therefore, be clear surplus revenue as compared with the preceding year.

EXPORTS TO 15TH NOVEMBER, 1839.

	Value.
Sugar.....lbs. 28,311,529.....	£ 331,412 10 4
Cotton..... 112,064.....	2,536 8 0
Coffee..... 174,715.....	5,880 6 11
Cocoa..... 2,559,768.....	34,421 11 4
Rum.....galls. 9,946.....	1,126 10 2
Molasses..... 834,609.....	40,917 2 0
Sundries.....	3163 18 2
Total	£409,458 6 11

Trinidad Standard.

Home News.

THE COOLIE SLAVE-TRADE.—The following petition to Parliament on this deeply interesting subject has been entrusted for presentation to Sir Eardley Wilmot.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Sheweth,—That your petitioners respectfully call the attention of your honourable House to the proposed relaxation, so far as the same affects the Mauritius, of the regulations prohibiting the exportation of Hill Coolies from Hindostan.

Conspicuous as the Island of Mauritius has been for daring violation of the laws, for disloyalty to the crown, and for an opposition to the humane measures intended for the benefit of the lately enslaved population which is still unwearied and determined, and notorious as is the fact, that even up to the present time, the authorities are for the most part influenced by the pro-slavery party; your petitioners are firmly persuaded that no substantial justice can be obtained in that colony for the Asiatic labourer.

While strongly deprecating the introduction of Hill Coolies into any British colony, seeing that the certain tendency of such a measure must be to injure, both morally and otherwise, the existing labouring population, your petitioners respectfully submit, that the Mauritians are least of all fit to be entrusted with the practical working of a scheme of the kind proposed; and that, should the Hill Coolie traffic be revived in their favour, there is no colony of Great Britain to which a similar concession can be consistently denied.

Your petitioners are fully and strongly convinced that the proposed measure, being an unwise and unjust expedient for procuring a supply of labour, will have the effect of opening an unlimited field for a new slave-trade, which no enactments in this country, however humanely intended, can prevent or even control.

On these and other grounds, your petitioners earnestly implore your honourable House not to sanction in the slightest degree any relaxation of the present restrictions upon the exportation of the Hill Coolies from Hindostan.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Signed by order of the committee,
GEORGE BENNET, Chairman.

SUPPRESSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATES IN THE WEST INDIES.—At a Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held on Friday, the 14th February, 1840,

WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq., in the Chair.

It was unanimously Resolved.—That the Committee have learned with astonishment, that the periodical reports of the Stipendiary Magistrates on the state and condition of agriculture in the Colonies have been suppressed by official authority in the Island of Jamaica. The Committee cannot conceal their regret that such a measure should have been considered advisable, particularly when they bear in mind, that the opposition of the said Reports to the counter statements of the Planters urged upon the Colonial Secretary through the agent of Jamaica, may have averted measures that would have proved of the utmost injury to the infant liberties of the emancipated labourers.

They feel that the people of England are entitled to the fullest information in regard to the conduct of the emancipated labourers, and the future prospect of the Colonies, and that the best species of information is that obtained from official and responsible sources.

SIR CHARLES METCALFE AND SIR LIONEL SMITH.

(From a despatch of Sir C. Metcalfe in the Parliamentary Papers.) He was attended at Port Henderson, the place of embarkation, and on the road leading thereto, by crowds of the emancipated population, assembled to pay their respects to the ruler in whose administration they had been made free, and who had unceasingly devoted himself to their protection. The conduct of the people was, I understand, most affecting, and evinced the greatest affliction on the departure of their friend and benefactor.

In addition to the enthusiastic attachment of this class of the population, Sir Lionel Smith carries with him, as far as I at present understand, the respect of all unbiased persons who are sensible of the difficulties which he has had to contend with; and, although a large class, who conceive themselves to have been injured by his measures, are in a state of irritation against him, the time will, I have no doubt, come, when better feelings towards him will prevail amongst them, and his administration be remembered with the universal respect due to his honourable, upright, manly, and unflinching conduct.

EMIGRATION TO TEXAS: FRAUDS OF THE TEXIAN CONSUL AT NEW YORK.—A very important event to English emigrants to Texas has recently taken place. My authority for naming it, is the *Mobile Chronicle*. It appears that the *Agnes*, a British vessel, arrived at Galveston, Texas, a few weeks since. John Woodward, the Texian consul at New York, had sold to a Mr. Iken, an Englishman, large quantities of Texian lands, to which he "had not," says the *Mobile Chronicle*, "the shadow of a title!" The emigrants in question had purchased their lands of Iken, who is not to blame; and the bitterness of their disappointment may be imagined, on finding, when they arrived in Texas, that they had not a single acre of land, and that their titles were mere blank papers. This is (assuming the accounts to be correct in every particular) one of the most cruel and infamous cases I ever heard of. The people of Galveston acted in a very proper spirit on the occasion: they convened a public meeting, with General Hunt as president, "to express their opinion of Woodward's conduct." They recommended his immediate discharge, and it is said that the Texian Congress will grant donations of land to the unfortunate emigrants, in addition to their head-rights. Persons in Europe cannot be too cautious buying scrip, or so called "title," to Texas land.

—Correspondent of *Morning Chronicle*.

Advertisement.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negroes behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

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